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The Shape of Things

THE GREATEST JOURNALISTIC SCOOP OF THE war to date is Leland Stowe's account in the New York *Post* and Chicago *Daily News* of how Oslo was betrayed to the Nazis and fell into their hands with scarcely the firing of a shot. And the "gigantic conspiracy" itself is the most sensational coup so far carried out by the masters of cunning in Berlin. According to Mr. Stowe, the conspiracy was so thoroughly and faultlessly organized that every key position in Oslo, including those commanding the actions of Norway's defending forts and ships, was in German hands before the invaders arrived. Norwegian boats were ordered to put their men ashore unarmed and did so without questioning the authenticity of the order; Norwegian forts were ordered not to fire. Mine controls were cut. Only one mine-layer which did not receive the false orders went about its business—and sank the cruiser Emden; one fort missed the orders and is said to have sunk the cruiser Blücher. But fifteen hundred Germans walked into Oslo unchallenged. Afterward the woman in the telegraph office who had addressed Mr. Stowe in English spoke German. Two days later 20,000 more German troops were landed. All over Norway, including Narvik, the German espionage accomplished similar if smaller miracles. It is undoubtedly preparing such miracles in other small nations whose independence the Reich aspires to "protect."

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THE DECISION OF THE BOARD OF HIGHER Education in New York City to carry the ouster of Bertrand Russell to the higher courts was an act of simple justice which the case demanded; but in the face of the pressure applied by assorted bigots and politicians, it was also an act of courage for which the board deserves the highest praise. Mayor LaGuardia had long since ranged himself with the McGeehans and the Bishop Mannings; the Corporation Counsel had the effrontery to say in a letter to the board that "the vindication of the board's position . . . will best be served by not taking an appeal." Every teacher in the country should be grateful to the board for standing firm against an attack on academic freedom all the more dangerous for being launched in the country's largest city.

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THE BEST NEWS SO FAR IN THE PRIMARIES is the defeat of Senator Edward R. Burke for renomination on the Democratic ticket in Nebraska. His victorious opponent, Governor Cochran, is pledged to support the New Deal, which Senator Burke has consistently knifed. Cochran's election in November should end the embarrassment Nebraskans must feel in having such completely dissimilar representatives in the Senate as George W. Norris and Edward R. Burke. Nebraska may also have helped to decide who will be the Republican Party's Presidential candidate by the vote it gave Thomas E. Dewey as against Senator Vandenberg. The Nebraska figures have increased the New Yorker's chances for the Republican nomination, as did the results of the primaries in both Wisconsin and Illinois, where the voters seemed to prefer him to Vandenberg. The huge six-to-one lead piled up by Mr. Roosevelt over Vice-President Garner in Illinois at least indicates that no third-term bogy will make Illinois voters prefer a conservative to a New Dealer. That feeling is not limited to Illinois.

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IN THE NEW YORK PRIMARIES OF APRIL 2 the right-wing group of the American Labor Party, faithful to Franklin D. Roosevelt, won a victory over the left wing, faithful to John L. Lewis. Led by Alex Rose and Luigi Antonini, the right wing charges the opposition, headed by Morris Watson and Eugene P. Connolly, with Communist leadership and with an attempt to make the A. L. P. a front for the Communist Party by traditional Trojan-horse and rule-or-ruin tactics. The Watson faction, which calls itself the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party, accuses what it terms the Old Guard of fraud in the subsequent meeting of the state committee. Specifically the Progressive Committee charges that proxies were obtained by misrepresentation, coercion, and bribery. The Rose-Antonini faction returns the accusation and says that the Watson forces were discredited on the floor when several dele-

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gates put in an unexpected appearance and disavowed letters purporting to have come from them naming progressive proxies. Naturally there is speculation as to whether the party faces a split. The size of the Watson vote indicates that whether or not the left wing is dominated by Communists, it represents a sizable rank-and-file opposition to the present party leadership. If the Watson faction is in fact a Communist wedge, it is hard to see what it would gain by withdrawing. It is more likely to continue its present policy of hamstringing the leadership by court injunctions, an opposition press, and other hampering devices. Rose supporters say that it has cost the Watson faction some $30,000 so far to carry on such activities. If this is true, it would be enlightening to find out who put up the money and whether there is more to come.

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THE CHRISTIAN FRONT CONSPIRACY TRIAL has thus far produced little that is startling or revealing. Every effort is apparently being made—by the prosecution as well as by the defense—to keep Coughlin's name out of the proceedings; likewise the names of his respectable mouthpieces in Brooklyn, from Edward Lodge Curran down. Prospective jurors were asked whether they had read such inflammatory journals as *Life* and *Look* (suspected of hostility to Coughlin); they were not asked whether they read *Social Justice* or the *Tablet*. The defense attorneys contend that their clients were preparing to defend the republic against a "Communist uprising." They charge that the chief government witness was planted in the Front by "Communists" as an *agent provocateur*. When one of the defendants abruptly commits suicide, his attorney blames it on "threatening letters" from "Jews and Communists." All this is obvious camouflage; it is the stale war cry of anti-democratic groups everywhere. But the prosecution, seemingly reluctant to tread on Catholic toes, finds itself on the defensive. The whole trial has an air of unreality and unimportance because of the taboos which prevail. If only seventeen men were involved in the terrorist plans, they were scarcely a menace to the republic; if Coughlin and his cohorts in high places knew what was happening, the plot assumes greater proportions. Unless this question is answered, the trial may prove to be without meaning.

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AS THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR APPROACHES, the Administration has rightly become somewhat panicky at the prospect of cutting the WPA to conform with the President's January budget estimates. Instead of admitting his error, the President has permitted Colonel Harrington to appear before the House Appropriation Committee with the suggestion that the Woodrum amendment of last year be withdrawn so that the appropriation can be drawn on as needed, thus making it possible for the Administration to come back for more funds if necessary. Colonel Harrington pointed out that the adoption of the President's budget estimates would require that the WPA rolls be cut from the present level of 2,300,000 workers to an average of 1,350,000 for the 1940-41 fiscal year—a reduction of over 41 per cent. About $1,500,000,000 would be required to maintain the WPA rolls at around 2,000,000—the average for the past year. A reduction below the 2,000,000 mark at the present level of employment would obviously invite a repetition of the 1937-38 recession. But instead of asking Congress to write a blank check by eliminating the Woodrum amendment, the Administration would do well to get behind the Pepper bill, which by fixing the relief expenditures for the year at the realistic figure of $1,627,000,000 would permit the WPA to be maintained at its present level.

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AN ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE IN THE NEXT few days to put through the Barden amendments to the wage-hour law as an aid to "agriculture," although the real purpose of the amendments is to exempt canning, packing, sugar, tobacco, and lumber interests from minimum-wage and maximum-hour restrictions. California and the rest of the Pacific Coast have been made familiar—by the Associated "Farmers"—with the technique of using farmers as a front for banking and big-business interests. The Barden amendments represent the first effort to apply the same technique on a national scale. Senator James T. Murray in a radio debate with Congressman Barden said he didn't think intelligent farmers were "going to fall for this bluff." But too many Congressmen may.

✶

ADOPTION BY THE SENATE OF THE BILL extending the Trade Agreements Act for three more years represents the most significant victory achieved by the New Deal at this session of Congress. Although the Administration forces were strong enough to turn back all proposed amendments, the margin by which they were rejected was uncomfortably small. Putting partisanship above the interests of the country or of their constituents, the Republicans to a man supported every amendment as it came up. They were joined not only by conservative Democrats like Glass and Johnson (Colorado), but by Senators Bone, Pittman, and O'Mahoney, who ordinarily support the Administration. Even Minnesota's two Farmer-Labor Senators, Shipstead and Lundeen, and the Progressive La Follette were lined up with the reactionaries on this issue. The Democratic split was largely on sectional lines. Many conservative Southerners joined with the urban New Dealers in support of the bill, while the Western Democrats aligned

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themselves with the Republicans on the wholly erroneous theory that certain mining interests were likely to be endangered by the reciprocal trade program. Although the victory is an important one in principle for economic liberalism, its practical significance is yet to be seen. The application of the idea of reciprocity in the post-war world is bound to be even more difficult than in the thirties, when it was none too easy.

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JAPAN'S BID FOR CONTROL OF SHANGHAI'S International Settlement was decisively set back by the victory of the Anglo-American bloc in last week's municipal-council elections. Stimulated by a vast increase in the Nipponese population of the Settlement during the past few years, the local Japanese sought to overthrow the gentlemen's agreement under which seats on the council have been apportioned among the various nationalities and to seize outright control by force of numbers. They neglected, however, to take fully into account Shanghai's antiquated electoral system. In addition to having a strict property qualification which restricts suffrage to a small minority, Shanghai permits plural voting for large property owners. Ordinarily, only a handful of voters bother to turn out for the elections. This year, faced by a determined challenge from the Japanese, the large British landowners not only turned out but split their holdings so as to create additional taxpayers, and thus easily turned back the Japanese threat. The defeat comes as a bitter blow to Tokyo, for the International Settlement has been a thorn in its side ever since the occupation of the Chinese areas of the city in 1937. Seizure of the Settlement by force of arms has been threatened several times in the past, but seems hardly likely now in view of Japan's present efforts to win British support for the "New Order in Asia."

*

TOM GIRDLER'S NAME WILL FOREVER BEAR the bloody stain of the Chicago Memorial Day massacre, but he had the cheek to tell a stockholder at the annual meeting of Republic Steel that the company has never been opposed to organized labor. "Some of my best friends," Girdler said, "are in organized labor." A stockholder's suit for $12,850,000 brought against him and his fellow-directors for losses incurred through their anti-labor policies makes some interesting allegations as to the kind of "friends" Girdler may have in the labor ranks. Among the unauthorized and costly acts cited in the stockholder's complaint is the employment of labor spies and provocateurs. The suit would hold Girdler and the other officers and directors accountable for the expenditure of $200,000 on spies and strike-breakers, $300,000 for the purchase of munitions used against strikers, $100,000 for advertising the company's labor policies, $7,500,000 for the back pay that must now be given to reinstated strikers, $2,500,000 for loss of business during the strike, $2,000,000 for liability to strikers and their families for personal injuries and deaths, and $250,000 for legal fees spent fighting the original Labor Board order now approved by the Supreme Court.

*

DISTURBING REPORTS ARE COMING FROM the Bonneville Dam power project in the Pacific Northwest, where Dr. Paul J. Raver of Chicago has recently succeeded the late J. D. Ross as administrator. Ross was a lifelong advocate of public ownership, but Raver has loudly proclaimed neutrality in the struggle between public and private power agencies. This is in direct contravention of the Bonneville Act, which specifically gives preference in the sale of power to publicly owned systems. Herbert S. Marks, brilliant young attorney for the TVA, who formerly was secretary to Federal Judge Julian W. Mack, has just resigned as Bonneville general counsel because of his disgust with Raver's policies. This situation makes all the more imperative a regional authority on the Columbia River similar to the TVA. Now three separate bureaus—the Army Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Bonneville administration—handle government projects on one waterway. Coordination is poor, and there is costly duplication of overhead. Senator Norris has long been convinced that a Columbia Basin Authority should be established.

*

"FRIENDS OF THE LAND," A NEW SOCIETY which held its organization conference in Washington recently, deserves the support of the growing army of citizens concerned with conserving our natural resources and repairing the damage done to America's heritage by three hundred years of reckless exploitation. Backed by men of all political parties, its purpose is to educate public opinion about the importance of all kinds of conservation work relating to the soil, forests, water, and natural life. Research and field work in this subject, which have expanded so greatly in the past ten years, have driven home the lesson that no one group of specialists can cure sick land. The combined skills of the soil expert, the agronomist, the hydraulic engineer, the forester, and the biologist are needed to solve the problem. Still more important, the interest of those who live on and by the land must be enlisted, and one of the achievements of the Federal Soil Conservation Service has been its success in obtaining the cooperation of farmers. But with all that is being done by both federal and state authorities, wind and water continue to deplete our primary national capital—the soil. Vigorous propaganda is needed to obtain public support for efforts on a still larger scale, and that is the task which "Friends of the Land" promises to perform.

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War, Unlimited

GERMANY'S lightning assault on the northern neutrals should have dispelled the last hopes of the small states of Europe that they could keep clear of the conflict. Either they must comply with Hitler's every command, in which case the Allies may consider their neutrality no more than a blind, or they must be prepared to be seized when German strategy requires it. Even humiliating subservience to Berlin will not save them. No small country stretched the definition of neutrality to meet German policies farther than Denmark, but this did not save it from being taken into "protective custody" when plans for the conquest of Norway called for a preliminary occupation of Denmark.

The news of German action in the north sent a wave of terror through the other small states. In many capitals, correspondents reported, the atmosphere became positively hysterical as rumors of new Nazi strokes in all directions burned up the wires. Holland and Belgium once again put their defenses on a war footing. In the Balkans there were reports of German concentrations near the Hungarian and Yugoslav borders and of an ultimatum sent to all Danubian border states demanding that Germany be allowed to police the entire length of the river. As news came through that Norway was resisting and the British fleet in action, the tension relaxed a little, but fears persist that a new coup will not be long postponed. Actually, Germany is not so likely to strike at another neutral, unless it is Sweden, while the success of its Norwegian venture is still in the balance. Hitler's policy has always been one bite at a time. He likes to grind one small state to a pulp so that it can be held out as a horrible example to others of what happens to those who resist German might. To move against either the Balkans or the Low Countries at this moment would be to risk a dispersion of forces and give new openings to the Allies. Hence, while there may be threats in various directions to discourage the dispatch of assistance to Norway, the launching of a new invasion seems improbable unless failure of the northern campaign calls for quick action elsewhere to restore prestige.

On the other hand, the Allies may now try to force a showdown. They are rumored to have made offers of protection to Holland and Belgium in the past week, and they are redoubling their efforts to defeat German economic pressure in the Balkans. For some time the British and French governments have been urging the neutrals to line up on their side. They have pointed out that safety is not to be found by cowering in the neutrality ditch, for when Germany is ready to seize a new victim, it may be too late to organize help. Even if some small states survive the war without invasion, it is argued, their hopes of retaining full independence depend on an Allied victory. There are few neutral leaders who would dispute this fact—in private, at any rate—but this does not hinder their desire to make the best of both worlds by keeping clear of war and yet eventually reaping the fruits of Nazi downfall. The fate of Denmark and Norway has provided a jolt to such wishful thinking, but terror of the ruthless German war machine is such that only actual invasion is likely to bring any neutral into the Allied camp. However, if London and Paris really begin to compete in firmness with Berlin and insist that neutrality no longer be molded to Nazi orders, Germany may feel impelled to seize the initiative as it has done in the north. So far as the Balkans are concerned, the question of forcing a showdown is complicated for the Allies by uncertainty regarding Russian and Italian reactions. There have been reports in the past few days of Soviet concentrations near Odessa close to the Bessarabian frontier. It is not believed, however, that Moscow will set the match to the Balkan powder barrel. But should Germany move against Rumania, the Soviets would probably repeat their strategy in Poland, seeking both to take possession of territory to which they have claims and to strengthen their defensive position.

It would be hard, also, for Mussolini to maintain his policy of non-belligerency if war spread to the Balkans. He has a foothold in that region since his rape of Albania, where incidentally large numbers of Italian "workmen" are reported to have been sent recently, and he has close treaty relations with Hungary and Bulgaria. But Mussolini is realist enough to want to continue as a "non-belligerent" until he is fairly certain which side will win. His sympathies and his hopes undoubtedly lie with a German victory, but a great many Italians fail to share his views. They do not want to fight, and particularly they do not want to fight Germany's battles. Even Mussolini's great propaganda machine seems unable to change these feelings. In fact, it has ceased to attempt the hopeless task of making the Italians love the Nazis and is now putting all its emphasis on the military strength of Germany, and the desperation of the Allied cause. Thus the Norwegian attack has been played up as an astounding German triumph, and the heavy losses incurred as a result of the British counter-attack are being minimized. In this way the Italian people are being schooled in the idea that the only way for them to share in the spoils of war is to play jackal to Germany's lion.

Can the Allies afford to take notice of the increasing hostility of the Italian government and force it to declare where it stands? That is a military as well as a political question which no layman can easily answer. It is known, however, that some members of the French General Staff were in favor of making Il Duce put up or shut up right at the start, believing that the plains of Italy were the best place to outflank Germany. Now that the war has spread all the way to the Arctic Circle they may be more

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doubtful about this strategy, but this, of course, may in turn steel Mussolini to make the plunge. For each widening of the conflict tends almost inevitably to spread it still farther. The myth of a localized or limited war has been drowned in the Norwegian fjords.

Truth Will Out

WHAT an investigating committee fails to do is sometimes more revealing than what it does. The Smith committee was appointed to investigate the Wagner Act and the Labor Board. Congress authorized the investigation because of charges that the act and its administration by the board were hurting business. One would think that the first, the obvious, and the important question to be answered would be the effect of the act on industrial strife. "No evidence on the matter was introduced by counsel for the committee. . . ."

The quotation is from the minority report filed by two members of the Smith committee, Representatives Healey and Murdock. The evidence they themselves present on this question is arresting. It is well known by now that the number of strikes, of men involved in them, and of man-days lost fell sharply after the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act in 1937. Equally significant is the minority's comparison of industries subject to the Wagner Act with those which do not come under its provisions. In 1938 the number of strikes dropped 48 per cent in industries under the act as against 29 per cent in others. The number of man-days idle because of strikes declined 71 per cent in the former as compared with 51 per cent in the latter. The number of organized workers grew from 3,600,000 in 1935 to more than 8,000,000 in 1939, but more labor disputes are being settled without strikes and fewer employers are violating the act. In 1936 complaints of unfair labor practices constituted 81 per cent of new cases filed with the board. In 1939 the proportion of unfair-labor-practice cases had dropped to 65 per cent.

"No evidence on the matter was introduced by counsel for the committee." Were Chairman Smith and his two colleagues of the majority afraid of these figures? Did they conceive it to be their task to smear the board rather than to find out what effect the Wagner Act has had on labor troubles? The committee's conduct has made the answers clear. But until the minority made its report few people realized to what extent the Smith committee resorted to distortions and evasions in order to buttress the conclusions with which it started. We cannot do more than touch on the 45,000-word document in which the minority have presented their analysis of the hearings and of the committee's report.

The majority report submitted an amendment which would abolish the board's Division of Economic Research. In support of that amendment it cites testimony by Dr. Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor. It quotes Dr. Lubin as saying that at least twenty economists in his bureau are "engaged in activities similar to those performed by the Division of Economic Research." It reports Dr. Lubin's statement that his bureau had received many requests from the board for statistical work and had never refused such requests, except when the staff was inadequate or the board had wanted information in too short a time. The implication is that the board's Division of Economic Research is unnecessary and duplicates work already done by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The majority report does not mention Dr. Lubin's specific testimony that the work of the division in no way duplicates the work of the bureau. It does not mention his further opinion, expressed in the hearing, that it was "very definitely" necessary for the Labor Board, like other administrative agencies of the government, to have its own division for the collection and analysis of statistics bearing on its work. This suppression of inconvenient testimony to give a completely false picture of what Dr. Lubin really said is characteristic rather than exceptional. The minority report cites one case after another of "similar editing."

In the Berkshire Mills case the majority report left out one entire paragraph and several phrases from a letter by Edwin S. Smith to give a misleading impression of his conduct. In its discussion of the Inland Steel case it managed to overlook such a trifle as the Chicago Memorial Day massacre in its effort to make it appear that the board solicits litigation and foments labor trouble. The committee ignored admissions by its own chairman in making its much-publicized charges of "lobbying" against the board. The majority report dwelt at length on the need for "separation of functions" but passed over the fact that the board's trial attorneys, trial examiners, and review attorneys are in separate divisions and that "the board's instructions impose the strict requirement that there shall be no fraternization between trial examiner and trial attorney." Review attorneys are "under strict injunction not to communicate with or discuss cases with trial attorneys, nor, unless by special permission, with trial examiners." The minority report says, "There is no evidence in the record that these instructions have been violated, except upon such rare occasions as to be of little significance." It indicates that Chairman Smith and his two colleagues of the majority were seldom bothered by the absence of "evidence in the record" to support the findings they wanted. The committee was supposed to collect facts, but produced instead an anthology of gossip and slander. "We deplore the fact," says the minority report, "that during many weeks of investigation, counsel for the committee submitted only evidence derogatory to the board." This is the investigating committee that accuses the Labor Board of being unfair in its procedure and biased in its attitude.

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Fifty Years of Pan-Americanism

FOR most persons the headlines from Scandinavia probably caused last week's celebration of fifty years of pan-American cooperation to pass unnoticed. But it is not without significance that the week which saw Europe plunge into all but complete anarchy in its international relations marked a half-century of steadily increasing cooperation among the twenty-one American republics.

The symbol of inter-American cooperation throughout these years has been the Pan-American Union, which was established April 14, 1890, at the close of the First International Conference of American States. Originally set up as a purely commercial organization, it has rapidly expanded its activities into practically every field of international relations. In this respect it has served as a model for many of the non-political activities of the League of Nations. And its activities have contributed to the common interests of the American republics in such a way as to strengthen bonds that originally were none too binding.

For it must be admitted that Pan-Americanism has developed under severe handicaps. In theory, the American republics are bound together by two basic ties—geographic propinquity and a common loyalty to democratic traditions. Actually, neither of these has been as significant as is ordinarily supposed. The large cities on the east coast of South America are nearer to the Old World than to the population centers of the United States. And although all the Latin American countries are nominally republics, the democratic tradition is rooted in only a few. Moreover, throughout the greater part of the half-century the United States has been engaged in frankly imperialist activities in the Caribbean which have engendered deep suspicion throughout South America. It has been felt, with good reason, that so far as this country was concerned Pan-Americanism was merely a cloak for imperialist penetration.

That Pan-Americanism has survived and developed is a tribute to the essential validity of the idea. The Americas do constitute a natural economic unit, and it is only logical that intra-hemisphere trade should enjoy rapid development. Moreover, it has been shown that the American republics, with minor exceptions, not only desire peace but possess a capacity for living together without resort to armed force to settle their disputes. And they have succeeded, except in the World War, in keeping aloof from Europe's quarrels. It is not necessary for us to be isolationist to see the desirability of strengthening these peaceful traditions, or to urge that steps be taken in common to preserve the security of the Americas.

The importance of such common action has been brought home by Germany's seizure of Denmark. Anxiety has been felt lest the war come to the American continents through an ultimate Nazi claim to Greenland. While the danger of this seems extremely remote, there are obvious advantages in a joint stand by the American republics as opposed to unilateral action by the United States under the Monroe Doctrine. Whether the exigencies of the war will bring about genuine inter-American solidarity remains to be seen. Much will depend on the United States. The transition from "dollar diplomacy" to the "good-neighbor" policy has allayed some of the mistrust with which the Latin American countries long regarded the United States, but it takes time to overcome the suspicion of many generations. One blunder such as Secretary Hull's recent note to Mexico may destroy the gains achieved by years of effort. If we can put aside bullying tactics and become a good neighbor in fact as well as in word, Pan-Americanism may reach a vigorous maturity in its second half-century.

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Can We Stay Neutral?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AMERICAN foreign policy is being made in Oslo Fjord and Narvik and on the Swedish frontier. It is being modified by rumors of Nazi plans for invading the Low Countries. It will depend on the behavior of the British fleet in the Skagerrak and on the intentions of the German government toward Greenland. If these struggles look remote to isolationists, it is only because they are afflicted with a convenient nearsightedness. The unanimity with which isolationist Senators and Representatives decided that what was happening in Norway was too bad but of no greater concern to America than, say, an earthquake in Turkey showed a mental myopia both dangerous and unrealistic.

This is not to say that Hitler's attack on the Scandinavian nations and his threats against Holland and Belgium directly impinge on American neutrality. Unless worse follows, we shall undoubtedly remain neutral. The Administration has met the new developments, as it has those that came before, without panic. The actual steps taken have been obvious, cautious steps. The area barred to American ships has by Presidential proclamation been extended to include all the waters around Scandinavia. A Treasury order has forbidden the transfer of Danish and Norwegian funds to prevent Germany from looting the foreign resources of its victims. And the President has issued a strong statement condemning the attack on the two Scandinavian countries, saying that if civilization is to survive, "powerful neighbors" must respect the independence of small nations. Altogether the moves made in Washington have been only those dictated by immediate circumstances. But close observers report a new anxiety in high places, and the President's speech to the Pan-American Union showed the extent of his concern.

Until last week the possibility of Allied defeat was a distant threat even in the calculations of the Administration. Last week it pushed forward and demanded consideration. Officials discussed the possibility of German control of Greenland, Denmark's one possession in our hemisphere. And their speculations ranged ahead—but perhaps not far ahead—to the consequences of a Nazi thrust into Holland. What, in case of such a move, would be our policy in regard to the Dutch islands in the Caribbean? Or suppose the Japanese should attempt to seize the Dutch East Indies, source of America's rubber supply. Could the British fleet protect those rich prizes and the trade routes that lead to them? If not, what would the United States do about it? Throughout the indecisive days of the past week, such questions were asked openly in the press and on the air, privately in government offices in Washington.

The success of the British fleet in Narvik harbor and its vigorous action in the waters off southern Norway have relieved the tension to some extent. But the fact that the policy of the United States depends in any degree at all upon local victories or defeats of the British navy should give every American food for thought.

Democracies don't go to war, these days, unless their safety is clearly threatened and the threat is felt by the population. This has often meant, in the course of Europe's progress toward catastrophe, that the democracies have realized their danger when it was too late to prevent invasion or defeat.

Democracies move slowly because the people want peace. I believe this simple desire is more important today than capitalist fear of the social upheavals that will follow war or the counter-fear of the workers that war will mean repression and reaction. Those emotions exist. But the craving for peace, the desire—basically mature, if not, as the Nazis claim, decadent—for a continent ruled by law and not by violence, is common to the majority of ordinary citizens in all countries. When the ordinary citizen controls the government, the result is likely to be delay and compromise. This may mean that democracy, like some paleolithic monster, has lost its capacity to defend itself and so to survive. But few of us who hesitate are ready yet to grant that we are lost. The democracies have at least one weapon that Hitler lacks. Once they are forced to a decision they fight because they want to fight, and they fight for what their whole people want: a chance to live out their lives in relative freedom and to solve their problems, domestic or foreign, with a minimum of brutality and disorder. This is the one hope that emerges from the growing record of democratic procrastination and defeat. It is flickering unsteadily along the rugged coast of Norway, burning dim in Sweden and the Low Countries. The world waits in doubt and agony to see whether it will be vindicated.

The United States shares all the reluctance and desires of the European democracies. It wants peace. It will not go to war or knowingly move toward the edge of war without feeling certain that its vital interests are clearly and immediately involved. Those who see in the Euro-

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pean struggle an indirect challenge to the democratic way of life may shout their warnings; Americans will not listen unless the threat rolls close—geographically, not only ideologically close.

We are prepared to hold on to our neutrality even if it means subsidizing aggression in every corner of the world, because the price of abandoning neutrality may be war. We have, it is true, tempered our neutrality to the most pressing needs of the democracies in Europe. We have modified the law just enough to allow Britain and France to get arms as long as they have money, in the typical democratic hope that the war will end before we are called upon to modify it still further or abandon it altogether. The anxiety now evident in Washington is occasioned by the possibility that the moment for a new decision may be close at hand.

While I believe that the Administration is honestly trying to keep the nation out of war, I also believe that the President and his advisers consider an Allied victory essential to the survival of democracy and the safety of the United States. Mr. Roosevelt came close to saying so in his latest statement. Faced by a genuine danger of Allied defeat, the Administration would, I am certain, favor a much less "neutral" policy. It would hate to fight a Presidential campaign on such an issue, but the course of the war may force it to.

Of one thing, however, I feel sure. The United States will not be tripped or tricked into war by the machinations of the government or the subtle pressures of British propaganda. We shall hold tenaciously—too long, perhaps—to our neutral safeguards, and give them up only if we are convinced that the defeat of the Allies is probable and imminent. We shall give them up, if we have to, one by one, hoping that each extra fragment of aid will turn the necessary trick. And if we finally become involved in the war, we shall probably send free materials and ships and withhold troops until the need for men becomes overwhelming. It is a common assumption that a nation cannot be "half in and half out" of a major war. I do not share it. This war is being fought by reluctant, unhappy nations, haggling and negotiating as they move slowly into the conflict. We would have an even better chance than they to hold back; and our temper insures that we would take it.

Such a prospect can hardly be called a "policy." It is rather a train of events which may happen. The United States is not likely to act either more boldly or more timorously or more wisely than the other democracies. And its actions are likely to follow the same logic. This is not a logic of "dynamism." It leaves the initiative to the enemy and gives him all the early advantages. But it is based on such sound instincts of decency that it is difficult wholly to disparage. The democracies may lose as the result of their hesitations; but if they win, their victory will be worth having for the very reason that they were reluctant and slow to anger.

Hitler's Great Gamble

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

HITLER, said Winston Churchill, reporting to the House of Commons on the first phase of the great naval battle off Norway, has made "as great a strategic and political error" as Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Spain in 1808. "German positions throughout Norway," Berlin claimed almost simultaneously, "are so thoroughly consolidated that there is not the remotest possibility they could be dislodged by English and French forces."

Which side is right? Has Hitler again taken the democracies by surprise and kidnapped two more small but valuable states while they were losing time in debate? Or has he made a false move and been caught far out on Germany's weakest limb—its inferior navy? By the time this article is in print, events may have answered these questions decisively: or both sides may obtain footholds in Norway and settle down to a prolonged struggle. At the moment the situation is far too confused to permit any attempt at prophecy. But it may be worth while to discuss the motives for Germany's spring to the north and to make some estimate of the military and economic stakes involved.

The merest glance at a map is sufficient to indicate the strategic advantages which Germany can obtain from control of the Norwegian coast. Its innumerable deep harbors with their narrow entrances, easily defended by mines and coast artillery, afford wonderful submarine and cruiser bases. They would make possible counter-blockade measures on a far wider front than at present and enormously increase the difficulties of the British navy. Again Bergen is many miles nearer the north of Scotland than Cuxhaven and is a far better base for aerial attacks on the British fleet. The flat lands of Denmark also offer sites for air fields, enabling raids to be launched from more points than are available at present, and increasing the possibilities of surprise. Against such advantages must be placed the dangers of extended communications and the opportunity offered

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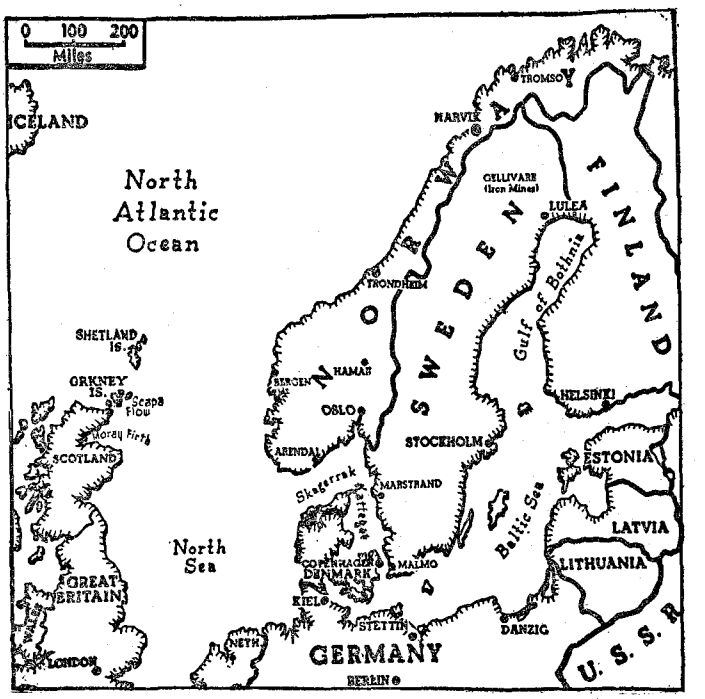
to the Allies, if the Norwegian coup fails, of establishing an "alternative front." Germany has built many of its vital war factories near the Baltic coast. Should the Allies recapture Norway, these would be dangerously exposed.

The economic benefits which accrue to Germany from the seizure of Denmark are not so great as some commentators have suggested, and if the rest of Scandinavia is brought under German control, there will be serious liabilities to set against new assets. For these countries, while affording rich possibilities of loot, are likely to be crippled as going productive concerns if their imports from the west are cut off. Danish output of butter and meat is dependent on the purchase of corn and other feed from North and South America; Norway cannot raise enough food, particularly cereals, for its own population; Sweden's highly developed metal industries require copper and other raw materials not available at home. All three countries, moreover, import nearly all the coal they use, principally from England. It is doubtful that the overburdened mines and transport system of the Reich could make good in this direction. The Swedish iron-ore mines are, of course, supremely important for Germany, but to attempt to win them by battle means to run the risk of their destruction.

It may be argued that at least Germany can prevent the Allies from drawing on Scandinavian supplies. Denmark's butter, eggs, and bacon, Sweden's timber and cellulose, and Norway's chemicals are all extremely valuable to the British. They can, perhaps, obtain alternative supplies, but these must come greater distances, thus increasing the strain on the merchant marine.

The fact that both sides had a good deal to gain by keeping Scandinavia outside the war was really the strongest reason these little countries had for the belief that they could remain neutral this time just as they had during the first World War. They are all states which have long sought peace and ensued it. They were enthusiastic supporters of the League of Nations from the beginning, and taking its promises seriously they were encouraged to reduce armaments to a minimum and use their surplus wealth for social welfare. By 1936 they had become somewhat disillusioned, and after the sabotage of the League by the great powers during the Ethiopian War, they made, together with Finland, a joint announcement of their unwillingness to participate again in the application of sanctions under Article 16 of the Covenant. Simultaneously they strengthened the ties among themselves, adopting similar neutrality rules and consulting frequently on common political and economic questions. At one time, indeed, it seemed probable that the northern bloc might reach an agreement for mutual protection and achieve a coordinated defense policy. This hope was completely shattered, however, by the action of the Danish government in refusing to consider any



"entangling alliance." There is good reason to believe that this decision was strongly influenced by intimations from Berlin that it disapproved of any military engagements, even though purely defensive, on the part of its small neighbor.

Last summer, when I was in Scandinavia, the many government officials I talked to all declared that in the event of war their countries would remain strictly neutral, and they expressed confidence in their ability to make their neutrality respected. Unofficial persons were much less certain about their ability to keep out. They knew what strong pressure was already being exercised by the Nazis, who were constantly interfering and attempting to dictate to the Scandinavian states their neutral duties. Objections were raised to any newspaper article critical of the Nazis as being "unobjective," while at the same time German money lavishly subsidized favorable propaganda. Obviously under war conditions such pressure was likely to increase tremendously and provoke counter-pressure from the other side. It was difficult to see how the Scandinavian states could avoid becoming the victims of a contest in intimidation.

The memoranda delivered by Germany to Norway and Denmark attempt to justify German action on the ground that the Allies were plotting to seize these countries. This is denied in London, but it may be true. It must be remembered, however, that Britain and France had hesitated about sending aid to Finland owing to Norwegian and Swedish opposition, and that, unlike their opponent, they still have some reputation for international morality to lose. On the other hand, they had violated Norwegian neutrality in the Altmark incident, responsible quarters in Paris and London had talked frankly about the necessity of stopping the Norwegian gap in the blockade, and finally they had sown mines in Norwegian waters,

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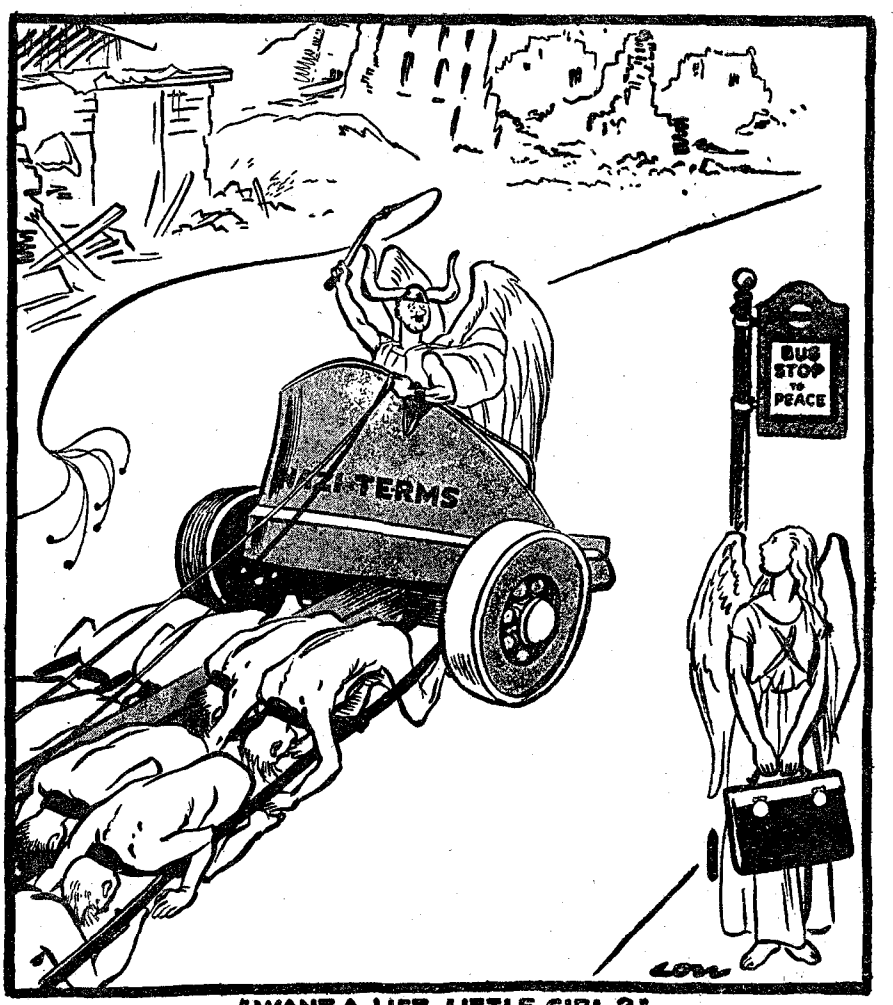
although this action was taken after the German invaders had already started.

How plausible is the theory that the Allies, by hinting at a move against Scandinavia, were aiming to goad Hitler into overt violation of northern neutrality? Were they making a deliberately weak bid in the hope that Hitler would attempt a grand slam without sufficient trumps in his hand? The advantages to the Allies in luring Germany to attack Norway may have seemed twofold. In the first place, it would enable them to establish a northern front; in the second, it would mean that a comparatively large part of the German fleet would have to emerge from its safe anchorages to guard a long line of communications, thus giving the vastly stronger British navy a chance to destroy it.

The German General Staff must have known that they were gambling. Probably they were encouraged to do so by a long series of triumphs which had led them to despise the enemy—always a dangerous thing—and by the belief that they could compensate for naval inferiority by their stronger air fleet. For the success of the German plans it was essential that they should establish themselves so strongly in the strategic centers seized as to preclude their early recapture, and that they should not lose command of the Kattegat and Skagerrak, through which reinforcements and supplies from Germany must pass unless Sweden were also to be invaded.

Reference to the map shows how vital to both sides this acute-angled bottleneck leading from North Sea to Baltic is and explains the fierce fight over its possession that is going on as I write. In planning their invasion of Norway the Nazis sought to close this gap with mines and submarines, so that their transports could safely make the short run from Danish waters to Oslo. The British fleet, however, fought its way through the Skagerrak and inflicted heavy losses on the German vessels carrying reinforcements and supplies. But they were not able to close the net completely, for some troopships are since reported to have reached Oslo safely. It is still too early to know whether Churchill can make good his boast that "all ships in the Skagerrak and Kattegat will be sunk." If he can, Germany's invading army will be cut off.

In this event Germany will either be compelled to abandon its attempt to conquer Norway or be forced to use the alternative route through Sweden. There have been rumors already of demands on the Swedish government to permit the passage of troops and supplies through its territories. Premier Per Albin Hansson has publicly denied that any such demand has been made. He added that any attempt to violate Swedish neutrality would be sternly resisted by all means in Sweden's power. These are by no means negligible, and German invasion of this largest of the Scandinavian states would turn its northern gamble into a major military campaign.



"WANT A LIFT, LITTLE GIRL?"

To a much greater extent than its neighbors Sweden has increased its military preparedness in the past few years. Fully mobilized, it could place in the field more than half a million trained and well-equipped soldiers. It has strong coast defenses and a navy powerful enough to cause a great deal of trouble to the weakened German fleet. Finally, its air force comprises several hundred modern planes capable of severely harassing an enemy trying to land troops. Consequently, conquest of Sweden would demand not a handful of divisions such as has been detailed against the much smaller and weaker Norwegian army—which in any case was taken by surprise and not expected to put up a serious resistance—but half a dozen or more army corps. This might involve withdrawing troops from the west front and would certainly militate against the launching of a simultaneous offensive

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elsewhere. Tactically the German attack on Norway was a brilliant piece of staff work. Long and intricate planning and meticulous timing were necessary to make possible those unheralded leaps in the dark on five widely separated cities. Had the Norwegian forces received the briefest warning, it is inconceivable that these comparatively small expeditions could all have attained their objectives practically without loss. At Narvik, it would appear, treachery was a factor, and it may prove that at other points too defenses were sapped in the same manner.

Once in possession of their objectives the German landing parties were strongly placed to resist counter-attack. They could turn the Norwegian fortress guns against any British assault, and in the narrow fjords their attendant planes could advantageously be used to attack warships unable to maneuver freely. There are, of course, many other places on the Norwegian coast where an Allied force might land. But the Germans are in possession of all towns having railroad connections with the interior. An army attempting to land elsewhere, in order to attack them in flank, would be severely handicapped by lack of communications, for along the entire length of the coast mountains tower high above the sea and there are few roads.

Undoubtedly the German command has chosen strong positions, and its little armies of occupation will be hard to dislodge. Nevertheless, the best tactics will not compensate for bad strategy. It is difficult to see how the Norwegian coast can be permanently held and utilized by the Nazis unless they are able to beat off the British fleet and compel it to give Scandinavia a wide berth. This is a formidable undertaking, and failure in it will mean that, for the first time, Herr Hitler has gambled and lost.

In the speech already quoted Winston Churchill said, "We have probably arrived at the first crunch of war." The vivid phrase wrenches the heart of anyone who has known the civilization which Scandinavia has created and sees it now between the jaws of Mars. It is a grim reminder of the nature of the present conflict, which, for all its slow beginning, threatens to spread rapidly and destructively. The Scandinavians hardly expected to escape; not a few of them believed that it might prove better in the long run to line up with the Allies. For while their opinion of British and French policy was most unflattering, they were convinced that German victory in Europe would write finis to their independence and their democracy. In their dark hour most Norwegians will console themselves with the thought that in contributing to the defeat of Nazism they are genuinely fighting for the survival of a way of life absolutely opposed to totalitarian ideals.

"Stamping" Out Hunger

BY JANE WHITBREAD

NEW DEAL efforts to cope with the farm problem have been the subject of more criticism, ridicule, and political attack than any other phase of the Administration's program. That fact makes more striking by contrast the wholesale acclaim which has greeted the Food-Stamp Plan of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. This happy brain child was born after months of preparation and planning, in which grocers' trade associations played no small part. It was announced simply as an experiment to be "tried" in a few localities before being extended. A triumph of simplicity, it provides for the issuance of orange tickets to persons on relief at the rate of one dollar's worth a week at the minimum, and for the free distribution of fifty cents' worth of blue stamps for each dollar's worth of orange tickets. Both orange and blue stamps can be used at any store in the selected area. The orange stamps will purchase any grocery product except tobacco, beer, and liquor. The blue stamps will buy only articles on a list of food products designated "surplus" by the FSCC.

The food-stamp experiment was introduced on May 16 last in Rochester and is now operating in nearly sixty areas from Hartford, Connecticut, to Shawnee, Oklahoma. Passage by Congress of the special $85,000,000 appropriation now in conference committee will make possible its expansion to 125 cities. But even if this appropriation is not obtained, the 30 per cent of custom receipts by which the FSCC is at present supported will enable it to extend operations to 100 areas by June 30. The plan will then be reaching four or five million relief eligibles.

On the opening day in Rochester 22.5 per cent of the 10,000 eligible families waited in line to receive their first food stamps. Since that time the percentage has risen to 75.9 per cent. In all the areas now covered an average of 61.7 per cent of all eligible persons is taking advantage of the stamps. Six hundred cities have requested to be included in the plan, with mayors, bankers, and editors echoing Frank Grimes, president of the Independent Grocers' Alliance of America, who said, "I know of no

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other project that has met with such enthusiastic approval."

The wide acceptance won for the scheme can be credited largely to the Commodities Corporation's president, Milo Perkins. A former paper-bag manufacturer and an ardent admirer of Stuart Chase, Mr. Perkins was well qualified to discover retailers' objections to the various FSCC plans for surplus disposal. The method of direct purchase and distribution had a major fault from the business man's point of view: it eliminated the middle man's and grocer's share of the business relief customers might bring. With remarkable deftness the stamp plan smooths hurt feelings by helping the farmer, feeding the needy, and paying the grocer, too. Designed to supplement rather than replace the direct purchase and distribution of surpluses, it performs many useful services. When large quantities of various local or national surplus commodities are distributed through local welfare agencies at specified weekly or bi-weekly intervals, perishable foods, in many instances, spoil before they can be used. The food stamps, used as currency at stores, make distribution constant rather than intermittent. Moreover, they allow the users to select their own menus. And in addition, the blue "surplus" stamps, which increase the food allotment of persons on relief by 50 per cent, enable them to fill out their diet with items which low-income families cannot usually afford but which are indispensable for health. Many of the foods currently designated "surplus" by the Secretary of Agriculture are the so-called "protective" foods—dairy products, eggs, fruits, and green vegetables.

That the Food-Stamp Plan moves surpluses through regular retail channels, while the direct-distribution method distributes them through specially established outlets, is perhaps the most obvious advantage from the business man's point of view. At the same time that it is combating malnutrition, the plan is expanding the domestic market for farm products in a manner beneficial to the food-distributing trade. In Rochester, while business in well-to-do neighborhoods did not improve appreciably in the months following the plan's introduction, it increased 12 per cent in low- and middle-income areas. Six per cent of this was the direct result of stamp business, and the rest may be indirectly attributed to the plan. In Des Moines as a whole food sales increased 5 per cent in twelve weeks after the plan's inauguration, while in the low-income areas of the city they increased 16 per cent.

The authors of the Food-Stamp Plan were influenced in their thinking by the potentialities of the low-income market for farm products. Basing his remarks on the Report on Consumers' Expenditures of the National Resources Committee, issued shortly before the plan was launched, Milo Perkins told a grocers' convention last summer that "40,000,000 Americans are living in families whose average cash income is only $9 a week. . . . About one-half of these 40,000,000 persons are getting some form of public assistance . . . they spend an average of about $1 a week a person for food; that's 15 cents a day . . . 5 cents a meal!" When the weekly allowance for food of a percentage of these people is increased 50 per cent by the stamp plan, how do they spend the addition? A partial answer to this question is found in a report recently issued by Mr. Perkins, based on blue-stamp purchases made in six areas during three periods—from July 16 last to September 30, from October 1 to December 15, and from December 16 to January 16. Apparently from 5 to 21 per cent was spent for vegetables, from 13 to 17 per cent for fruit, from 17 to 25 per cent for butter, from 17 to 26 per cent for eggs, 10 per cent for pork lard, and 23 per cent for pork. Before the addition of pork to the surplus list, roughly 50 per cent of blue-stamp purchases consisted of butter and eggs. It was estimated then that if the plan were extended to cover 75 per cent of the entire relief population, it would develop a market for these products 12 per cent greater than the present entire national consumption of butter and eggs. The addition of pork, however, caused a considerable drop in butter and egg purchases, creating a more balanced consumption picture for surplus products.

Stamp-plan authorities are wary of making estimates as to the possible additional market for surplus foods which may develop. Mr. Perkins said in December: "The stamp plan makes possible a much broader market for farmers producing commodities for which there is an elastic consumption, such as dairy products, poultry products, fruits, and vegetables. . . . This wider distribution will do more than provide a new market for surpluses; ultimately it can bring about a better price level for an entire crop, especially in the case of those commodities which happen to be selling very much below parity." Even more sanguine, the FSCC Annual Report stated, "It was evident early in the program that the stamp plan promises significant new markets for various agricultural commodities."

The authorities are making no prophecies about how soon the plan may affect surpluses sufficiently to raise prices. Logically, higher prices would put the "protective" foods out of reach of relief families and block the plan's aim of combating malnutrition among this group. However, such a development is a very remote possibility. Should it materialize, the FSCC would probably try to replace the "protective" foods whose prices had skyrocketed by others of similar nutritive value; for example, cheese might replace eggs. The theory is also advanced that increased demand for blue-stamp products might lead farmers to produce more of them. In taking this step they would switch from the production of cotton and wheat. If the plan is influential in bringing about a substantial shift in the crops that farmers plant, this would

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seem to be its greatest long-term contribution to the American economy. Although all statements are hedged round with qualifications, the FSCC's preliminary studies do show that increases in the food expenditures of the lower third of the people will mean increased consumption of butter, eggs, fruit, vegetables, and meat rather than of corn and flour.

No one is more aware than the plan's authors of the tremendous problems connected with any effort to move surpluses and raise farm prices. The FSCC stresses the fact that the stamp plan is not a substitute for the direct-purchase-and-distribution method, which this year will move some $80,000,000 worth of surplus commodities, but is designed to supplement it. With relief eligibles participating 100 per cent it will add $100,000,000 to the nation's total food outlay of some $15,000,000,000.

How China Helps Itself

BY NYM WALES

Manila, March 4

ON AUGUST 26, 1938, a small event of large significance occurred in China: the first unit of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives was set up. When that little group of refugee blacksmiths organized a cooperative foundry in a village in the farthest interior province, they laid the foundation stone of a movement that may revolutionize the life of Chinese villages.

On October 31, 1939, a squadron of Japanese bombers paid a special visit—they announced their intention in Hankow beforehand—to the village of Paochi in Shensi in order to annihilate this new industry. By accident they succeeded in destroying the foundry. But the blacksmiths did not run away, as city workers have so often been forced to do since Japan began its systematic campaign to destroy competitive Chinese industry. Helped financially by other cooperatives which had by that time been established, they simply picked up the steel fragments of the bomb and what remained of their machinery and moved into other quarters. Now they are operating again, and the fragments have doubtless become part of a new anvil.

Japanese bombers can never again find this foundry except by another accident. It looks like any other house in the hundreds of villages on the landscape. To destroy it they must destroy a whole village. Japan can certainly afford to do this. But it cannot afford the bombs, planes, and gasoline required to annihilate all the villages in China suspected of harboring industrial cooperatives. And even if Japan did undertake such an extravagant enterprise, the cooperatives would simply go out and create new industry in other places. It costs only $50 (U. S.) to start a surgical-gauze cooperative, for instance; $100 will start a candle- or soap-making unit; $200 a cotton-weaving cooperative. A $700 cooperative will employ 100 refugees—$7 will give a man a permanent job. This soon takes his family off relief. Later on, when the money has been paid back at 6 per cent or 8 per cent—and most of the cooperatives are able to do this—it will be applied to another unit and will give another man a livelihood. Commodity goods are at such a premium that the cooperatives make a profit almost immediately.

The people behind the cooperatives have found a way to launch an economic offensive against the invader that cannot be met with military force, a solution of the problem of how to industrialize the backward interior. Japan's plans for economic empire in China can never succeed if China industrializes itself in self-defense, thereby holding its own market, creating its own commodity production, and supplying its armed forces with equipment.

The history of this little industrial-cooperative movement is one of the most interesting stories that have come out of the war. One should never give up hope in China. As soon as one feels that all is lost, some meteoric phenomenon like this appears and one realizes again the immense vitality immobile in this vast nation. Nowhere else on earth can so much be done with so little. For the cost of one super-battleship America could finance enough industry in China to keep its armies fighting indefinitely, and that loan could eventually be repaid instead of being scrapped like a battleship. It would seem more intelligent to keep a million Chinese soldiers in the field than to build a big navy to combat Japan's imperial ambitions. The $100,000,000 that goes into a battleship would be not less than 1,000,000,000 yuan at the present rate of exchange. If we dug up that much idle gold in Kentucky we could probably create 480,000 industrial cooperatives in China and give jobs to 8,000,000 refugees. From August, 1938, to May, 1939, the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives administration established 1,200 registered cooperatives with a capital of about 2,500,000 yuan, the membership numbering 20,000 persons. Actually, this sum probably provided a livelihood for 50,000 individuals, including dependents. Our billion yuan would take care of 400 times as many. This could not have been done even in China before the war. Only the blockade, the dearth of capital and

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commodity goods, and a labor pool of from thirty to sixty million refugees made it possible.

It sounds fantastic. But so is the whole story of Indusco. According to an unofficial estimate made in October, 1939, the total value of the monthly production of the whole chain of industrial cooperatives (1,470 units) averaged almost 5,000,000 yuan. The total field investment was about 3,630,000 yuan. This means that capital was being turned over, in terms of production value, 1.4 times a month, or 16.8 times a year! The few private factories that exist are making similar records, but they have no future. Transportation costs, hazards of war and bombing, and lack of efficient management limit their opportunities. Village cooperatives supply the local market, move to the source of raw materials, pay no attention to bombing, utilize labor power to the fullest since the members are working for themselves, and have a foolproof management.

Most of the cooperatives are producing consumer commodities, but a few are already sniping directly at the Japanese by filling orders for war supplies. For example, the weaving and tailoring units of the Northwest Headquarters (five administration headquarters have been established) in the second week of last December delivered 40,000 padded overcoats to the central armies, made with cotton that would otherwise have gone to Japan. At the same time they are filling an order for 250,000 army blankets, made with wool that was formerly exported to Japan through Tientsin to make winter clothing for the well-clad Japanese troops. (Chinese soldiers never dreamed of woolen blankets before. They used cotton ones imported from India or padded quilts.) Lu Kwang-mien of the Northern Headquarters states that in six weeks his units also filled orders for 30,000 pounds of medical cotton, 30,000 pounds of bandages, and 100,000 hemp sandbags. Ninety per cent of the output of the canvas cooperatives there goes to make stretchers.

Indusco is not yet making munitions on a large scale, but the cooperative machine-shop in the Northwest has produced, besides machinery for various industries, a usable sub-machine-gun, a Mauser pistol, an automatic rifle, and an ordinary rifle. Hand grenades can be made for fifty cents a piece. This same shop turned out 70,000 in one month. The guerrillas in North China are begging for a dynamite plant. At present they have no high explosives with which to blow up Japanese lines of transportation.

The Indusco movement shows what possibilities are latent in China. The whole thing has been done by a handful of Ford-trained engineers and foreign-born technicians with a little more than average imagination and good technical education. With adequate financial support, which they have never received, they would soon build up the movement to formidable proportions. The C. I. C. administration has a hopeful plan to create 30,000 cooperatives in a vast crescent from Inner Mongolia to the southern sea. All it needs is money at low rates of interest—a most difficult thing to obtain in China today. It now has centers in every one of the eighteen provinces except Kiangsu (Shanghai area), Hopei, and Shantung. Mobile industrial units are functioning behind the Japanese lines in Anhui and Shansi —with funds contributed from overseas Chinese and Americans in the Philippines—and very close to the front in other war zones.

The progress of this little movement is in many ways a test for China, determining whether its economic resources can be developed and whether political unity and mobilization of the population can be achieved. A good omen, and one of the most amazing things about the movement, is that it has received the backing of the whole, usually divided, Soong family; it is without doubt the only project to benefit from this miracle. Madam Chiang Kai-shek originally sponsored it upon the recommendation of the British Ambassador, Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr, who also secured the appointment of Rewi Alley as technical adviser. Dr. H. H. Kung is chairman of the C. I. C. administration in Chungking and holds the purse-strings. Madam H. H. Kung made a loan of $100,000 and contributes her moral support. Madam Sun Yat-sen is honorary chairman of the Hongkong Promotion Committee. T. V. Soong has obtained bank loans amounting to 1,200,000 yuan, and is a member of the International Committee for the C. I. C. Productive Relief Fund in Hongkong, of which his efficient bank manager, S. J. Chen, is treasurer. This committee handles contributions on the revolving-fund principle and is the liaison for promotion committees abroad. The Episcopal Bishop of Hongkong, the Right Reverend R. O. Hall, is chairman, and Dr. Chen Hanseng of the Institute of Pacific Relations is secretary. Since its formation in June, 1939, the committee has handled nearly 2,000,000 yuan in private loans and relief contributions.

China has today reached a crucial moment in its economic history. Conditions are favorable for a vast industrial movement—millions of refugee workers, immense untouched natural resources, a constant demand for unavailable commodity goods, a blockade creating a wall against foreign imports, a European war preventing economic pressure and dumping by the great powers, war-time destruction crying out for rebuilding. The situation calls for an industrial development comparable to that which took place after the Civil War in America or, in more recent history, under the Five-Year Plan in Russia. In Russia they had to liquidate the kulaks to insure the free labor necessary. In China the Japanese invasion has created a huge army of potential factory workers.

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Who Wants Good Movies?

BY ARTHUR L. MAYER

EVER since its birth the motion-picture industry has been under fire from a host of unofficial, self-designated critics, as well as from those whose profession is criticism. Its improprieties have been castigated by reformers, its standards by educators, its immaturity by intellectuals, its banality by art lovers, and its trade practices by government attorneys. Liberals have been chiefly disturbed over its reluctance, as Dudley Nichols put it, "to use the strong materials of life." In the words of Archibald MacLeish, "Hollywood is in trouble at the box office . . . and the reason its pictures lack the fourth dimension of life is precisely that they do not know their own time, do not present their own time, do not belong to their own time, and therefore quite naturally have lost the interest of their own time."

The lack of Mr. MacLeish's "fourth dimension," however, has not seriously affected a producer like Louis Mayer of Loew's, Inc. Far from being in trouble at the box office, his company last year made close to $10,000,000. By concentrating on escapist themes he has paid consistent dividends to his stockholders and awe-inspiring salaries to himself and his fellow-executives. Neither he nor his competitors will adopt a different policy unless box-office grosses convince them that their patrons demand pictures with social content. So far they have seen no indication of any such demand. In this, although in little else, they are in complete accord with exhibitor opinion as expressed by Frank H. Ricketson, a circuit operator, in his new book "The Management of Motion Picture Theaters." "Pictures built on themes of special interest other than pure entertainment," Mr. Ricketson says, "are of little box-office value . . . propaganda pictures miss the aims of good attractions. Churches, schools, and libraries may educate and moralize; the theater rightly offers only amusement."

Neither "Confessions of a Nazi Spy" nor "Juarez," which were highly praised by the social-minded, were included in any of the lists of the ten most popular pictures of 1939 compiled by exhibitors. They made money for their producers, but in the domestic field they were not so profitable as the escapist pictures in which Robinson, Davis, and Muni had previously appeared. There is a demand for films with social content, but it exists among people who do not regularly attend the movies, and who, when given the opportunity to patronize such pictures, fail to do so promptly enough or in sufficient numbers to offset the defection of those who seek amusement exclusively. Time after time, when exhibitors have presented a mature, realistic picture to empty seats, a few lonely liberals arrive after the picture is no longer being shown and seem considerably annoyed that it has been withdrawn.

Last year, for instance, RKO Radio hatched an unpretentious "B" picture entitled "Boy Slaves." It showed, somewhat luridly though without exaggeration, child-labor conditions in the turpentine camps. Its distinction was not its direction or star value but its courage. It was a thrust at injustice and cruelty by men who risked their jobs in making that thrust. No large first-run exhibitor in New York City was equally gallant, and it had to be booked at the Rialto Theater. Previews were shown to a large number of progressive organizations. Most of their comments indicated keen disappointment that Cagney, Gable, and Flynn had not been cast as the boy slaves, and that the pitiful peonage conditions were not shown in beautiful technicolor. We received many such suggestions but little cooperation. "Boy Slaves" was sold down the river, and it can be safely predicted that no further productions dealing with child labor will come out of RKO studios for many years. It should not be surprising if they specialize henceforth in timely stories like "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" and "Swiss Family Robinson."

An even more disastrous experiment was the importation of "That They May Live," a French anti-war picture which showed the Verdun dead rising from their graves to prevent another holocaust. It was produced during the period of appeasement and could not be shown today in any European country. We are fortunate that we are still able to see such pictures in America, and that we have critics who call them to public attention. Frank Nugent of the New York *Times* wrote of "That They May Live," "Poignant . . . significant . . . performances of dignity, sincerity, and depth. Your eyes will not leave the screen." And Howard Barnes of the *Herald Tribune* said, "Daring . . . striking . . . challenging . . . not to be missed!" Nevertheless, after "That They May Live" had been shown for three weeks at the Filmarte, both exhibitor and importer were glad to close it. This theater, which once paid $45,000 for a film about the unfortunate love affair of a prince and a beautiful commoner, was unable to pay the distributor anything. To date the picture has had three bookings. Not a single pacifist organization has moved a finger to bring this dynamic piece of anti-war propaganda to the attention of the public.

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Apparently the horrors of war, although they may be endured on the battlefield, are too terrifying to be witnessed on the screen. An equally effective, if less horrifying, film was Herbert Kline's "Crisis." This able young producer was sent to Czechoslovakia by a few public-spirited men. He was in the Sudetenland during the Nazi invasion and returned with so timely and deeply moving a picture that the National Board of Review ranked it the sixth best of the year. But it was not the six-hundredth at the box office, where it took in less money than the average travelogue. Its failure was not due to indifference or hostility on the part of exhibitors. Both Warner and Loew's tried to show it, but the public did not wish to be harrowed or educated. Even fewer dates have been obtained for "The City," that grim yet gay indictment of the chaotic modern metropolis. "The River" and "The Plow That Broke the Plains" were shown widely only because they were distributed gratis for purposes of propaganda. Pictures like "A Man to Remember" will long be remembered for its amazingly low grosses, and "Make Way for Tomorrow" made way rapidly for livelier entertainment.

There would be no value in stressing these mishaps if there were not signs of a new phase in motion-picture production. I am not referring to television, technicolor, or fourth dimension, but to maturity. If picture audiences so will it, the exclusively escapist days of adolescence are over. There have recently been released five of the most socially important films ever produced: "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," "Grapes of Wrath," "Of Mice and Men," "Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet," and "The Fight for Life." In the offing are Charlie Chaplin's "Dictator" and Herbert Kline's "Lights Out in Europe." Both within and without the industry powerful voices are being raised in protest against these pictures. Martin Quigley, publisher of the most influential trade paper, writes of "Grapes of Wrath": "It may be wondered why . . . such an unpromising field of material was prospected." Abe Myers, attorney for the leading independent-exhibitor organization, charges that "such books as 'Of Mice and Men' and 'Grapes of Wrath' are too filthy to be permitted in American homes." Martin Dies, who has already attributed "Blockade," "Fury," and "Juarez" to Communist influences, will probably consider Steinbeck's pictures conclusive evidence for his contention that Hollywood has become an outpost of Moscow.

All pictures contain elements of propaganda, but those I have mentioned are propaganda for democracy, peace, tolerance, and economic and scientific progress—for the things that civilized men hold most dear. Under the much-condemned block-booking system they will be exhibited in every American city and hamlet. Not the praises of the liberals or the laments of the conservatives but the attitude of the picture-going public will determine the success of these pictures and consequently the future course of film production. If they do not prove popular, it will not be possible to ascribe the dearth of pictures with social content to routine-minded producers, stupid exhibitors, censorship, or distributor-controlled theaters. On the other hand, if they are widely attended and widely appreciated, pictures will cease to serve exclusively as aphrodisiacs for tired business men, vicarious adventure for romantic matrons, and dream weavers for adolescents. They will be able at least occasionally to speak universal truths and help to mold a nation's development.

John A. Hobson

BY S. K. RATCLIFFE

IF JOHN A. HOBSON, a highly valued contributor to *The Nation*, had been an American instead of an Englishman, his career would have been markedly different from the one which came to an honored close in London on April 1. Great universities would have competed for his services, and his reputation would have been far more extensive. But I doubt whether that seemingly frail physique would have borne him into his eighty-second year, whether his labors would have been as fruitful or his life as happy. He was altogether English, and yet—to use the phrase he applied to one of his heroes, Richard Cobden—he was an international man, while his social philosophy and method of approach made a special appeal to students and older readers in North America.

Hobson took pleasure in saying that he came from the middle of the middle class, and was born in a town of middling size in the middle of the English Midlands—Derby. At Oxford he was contemporary with Henry Nevinson and Graham Wallas. His hopes on leaving the university were doubtless set upon an academic career. His training, like theirs, had been in Classics. When he entered upon his analysis of the industrial and financial system there were few chairs of political economy in England and none of sociology. In after years he was constantly labeled professor. But this eminent master of social philosophy, with an enviable gift of public speech, was never offered a university appointment. He belonged to the select company of creative thinkers who have been professors-at-large.

It was an unlikely personal encounter which brought his conversion to the twofold theory of underconsumption by the masses and the fallacy of excessive saving, which he regarded thenceforward as mainly responsible for the dislocation of capital and the miseries of labor in periods of bad trade. Toward the end of his long life, in "Confessions of an Economic Heretic," he wrote an

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engaging account of "Hobson's revolt." He had lived to hear the doctrines of J. M. Keynes proclaimed with a resonance never dreamed of in connection with his own essays in persuasion, and to witness his old radical heresy become the dynamic element in many a New Deal devised for combating the latter-day crisis of capitalism. Here, to be sure, was a remarkable triumph for a quiet and persistent thinker. Moreover, in one special field Hobson's contribution was at once original and decisive. Forty years ago, as the Boer War was taking shape, he made a tour of South Africa which furnished him with the basic substance for his indictment of imperialism, one of the books by which governing minds have been changed and national policies rebuilt.

For some sixteen years after 1906 Hobson was a member of the brilliant group of journalists who met in Westminster at the weekly lunch table of H. W. Massingham's *Nation*. Among his colleagues on the paper were L. T. Hobhouse, H. W. Nevinson, L. T. Hammond, C. F. G. Masterman, F. W. Hirst; and in the final stage H. M. Tomlinson and Harold J. Laski.

Hobson in politics was a Liberal stalwart, always wholly detached. The regular party position was impossible for him, since by conviction and habit of mind he could not be other than of the left center. His fear of state bureaucracy kept him apart from the Socialists; but on the other hand he was never tempted by laissez faire. Of that he had been born free. He knew the modern world to be inevitably collectivist. He believed that, within certain bounds which we could not hope to break, the essentials of democratic freedom could be preserved. In his vision wealth and welfare were socially one. And in world affairs he was an unswerving advocate of complete collective security.

Throughout a full half-century the tall figure of J. A. Hobson was very familiar in the London best known to many among us. In conferences of many kinds he was a welcome speaker, for he had a happy gift of satiric humor. In discussions he could be depended upon for an extempore utterance so perfectly phrased that the verbatim report needed no correction. Whenever the summons came for a public stand upon any one of the issues which to him represented the rights of the citizen and the values of the commonweal, there promptly and whole-heartedly was he. His name would be given without hesitation; his voice and pen were at call. His courage was unfailing; he was entirely incorruptible.

It happens that as I finish this very inadequate tribute, my eye falls upon a sentence written by Dorothy Thompson in praise of an American public man whose ways and works make a striking contrast to those of our English friend: "He has a passion for the preservation of society, which is probably the noblest passion that a human being can have." I could not find a truer word for John Atkinson Hobson.

In the Wind

WHEN SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS visited Hollywood recently, he spent a good deal of time with Charlie Chaplin. For his visitor's benefit Chaplin acted out scenes from his forthcoming film "The Dictator." He said to Cripps, "After Hitler sees this picture he'll never dare open his mouth again."

ALTHOUGH MAYOR LAGUARDIA'S move in eliminating Bertrand Russell's post from the city budget—thus obstructing legal action—surprised many observers, persons connected with the affair anticipated his act. The truth is that on the eve of the Board of Higher Education's meeting to reconsider the case LaGuardia privately urged its members to rescind the appointment.

THE *POLICE GAZETTE* advertised recently in a newsdealers' trade paper. The ad reproduced the *Gazette's* first cover, which appeared in 1845, and its latest. The 1845 cover carried the line: "Love and Murder in Brooklyn." The 1940 cover read "Love Rackets and Murder on Broadway."

MAX EASTMAN has been recognized as one of Soviet Russia's severest critics for a good many years. But only a fortnight ago the Reverend James M. Gillis, editor of the *Catholic World,* announced that "those who are keeping count of American leftists now awakening to the truth about Soviet Russia must chalk up another name: Max Eastman."

THE FAILURE of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" to "go" at the box office has started a flurry of stories. The latest, reports *Variety,* is about a conversation between Max Gordon, producer of the picture, and Charles P. Skouras, of Fox-affiliated theaters. "Max," shouted Skouras, "they don't want Lincoln."

DESCRIBING THE visit of Erik Colban, Norwegian Minister at London, to the British Foreign Office shortly after the Nazi occupation of Norway, the New York *Times* reported: "Incidentally, it is said that if a diplomat has to lose his country there is nobody in the diplomatic business so comforting to talk to as Lord Halifax."

DURING THE recent Socialist Party convention at Washington a diminutive member of the Young People's Socialist League was handing out leaflets on the sidewalk. A brawny policeman accosted him and tried to make him move on. The Socialist refused and started to take down the policeman's number. "Listen," said the policeman plaintively, "I'm an American citizen and I've got my rights."

INCIDENTALLY, WHEN the Socialist Party nominated Norman Thomas for President for the fourth time, one newspaperman suggested as the campaign slogan: "If not now, why not eventually?"

[*We invite our readers to submit material for* ***In the Wind.*** *A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

San Francisco, April 10

SO THE blow has fallen and the Nazis have struck. From now on, in my judgment, the war will be in full swing. Both sides are now fighting for their lives. From now on there will be hitting below the belt and above the belt by both sides; no attention will be paid to any laws of war or to any attributes of neutrality. When the English decided to violate international law in the Altmark case, the die was cast. Sowing mines off Norway was the inevitable next step. Seven months of inability to get at the enemy was bound to make both sides take desperate chances and stop at nothing, and that is what we are going to see. It is, of course, impossible at this writing to know whether the English had really planned to block the Danube. It would not be surprising if it were true. This is a war of nerves as well as of economics, and the elevation of Winston Churchill to a position of control of the defense services was proof that the British government felt that the time for drifting was about over.

The amazing thing about the attack on Denmark and Norway is that the Germans were able to make it a complete surprise, though the preparations must have been known to thousands. The moves on Czechoslovakia and Poland were foreshadowed by a warning press campaign; the Nazis themselves tipped off the world to what was coming. But only a few straws in the wind warned about Denmark. Two weeks ago a Norwegian fisherman who had sold fish to a German submarine captain reported that his customer had told him that in a very short time German submarines would be so common at the particular place where the transaction occurred that no one would pay any attention to them. From Paris came reports that the Germans were massing on the Danish frontier and that some of them were practicing loading and unloading transports. But these and other stories were not played up and seemed to belong in the ordinary category of war rumors. Certainly it looks as if the British had been caught napping, but as to that we shall know more before these lines appear in print. We only know today that from all appearances the Germans have scored an initial success in the surprise move which every general tries for.

That the occupation of Denmark and the invasion of Norway gravely endanger the position of England is obvious. People are saying out here in San Francisco, where I am writing, that Denmark will be to Hitler what Belgium was to the Kaiser. I doubt it; I do not see how this move can make Hitler any blacker than he was before. And unfortunately it places the German air fleet in a most advantageous position to strike at England. I do not doubt that the Nazi military men who told me last fall that the blow would come about May 1 and would lead to the destruction of every English city on the coast had this in mind when they spoke so confidently. However, the English must also have had this contingency in view. Only the other day their Chief of Staff, General Ironside, echoed the Prime Minister's words that Hitler had "missed the bus" because he did not strike last fall when England was relatively unprepared. The months that have passed since then have undoubtedly been utilized to the full to safeguard England's shores and to line them with anti-aircraft guns. But I confess that it has seemed to me as a layman that the Germans were getting rather the best of it if one might judge from the Scapa Flow attacks. It is impossible to prevent an alert enemy air fleet from profiting by weather conditions which no human being can control.

Now the English and Germans are at each other's throats, and we shall see in the next two or three months whether Hitler's star will continue to rise or will begin to set. On the basis of my experience in Germany last fall I have been asking myself how the ordinary German will react to the news that his country has again taken over a small neighbor. From all that I hear, and especially from Anne O'Hare McCormick's admirable reports, the anti-English propaganda of Goebbels and his miserable press has been having considerable effect. So I very much fear that many of the German people will believe that Hitler is telling the truth when he says he is "protecting" Denmark and Norway for their own good. None the less, I am certain that many others will no more be blinded by what has happened than they were by the horrible misrepresentations about Poland and Czechoslovakia. They will be heartsick, but what can they do? Every conversation I had with persons of such views ended in that way—"What can we do?" Unfortunately, the greater the success of Hitler in Scandinavia, the more difficult will be the expression of any feeling of indignation in Germany at the destruction of the independence of still other countries.

The worst of it is that if the English now attack the Germans in Denmark and Norway, all the devastation that will take place in those unfortunate, innocent, and lovely little countries will be laid by the Germans at England's door!

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE OFFICIAL reports of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, otherwise known as the La Follette committee, fill many volumes. Their hundreds of closely printed pages contain the most detailed and extensive documentation of industrial warfare ever made. Within the dun-covered books moves a colorful procession of workers, employers, stool pigeons, strike-breakers, police officers, speaking their own language; in the long dialogue of Q. and A., characters and interests, prides and prejudices, hopes and fears are dramatically or casually revealed.

To read almost any one of these volumes is to wish that it might be put into coordinated form and printed in big type for Everyman to read. In "Citizens" (Viking Press, $2.75) Meyer Levin has done just that with the volume which contains the results of the committee's investigation of the Memorial Day killings in 1937. Mr. Levin, who was an eyewitness at the prairie edge of Chicago on that warm May day when nine people were fatally hurt and many others wounded by police guns and clubs, wrote the very vivid account of the parade and the killings which appeared in *The Nation* at the time. He has now written the whole story as fiction. To give it shape and meaning beyond mere reporting he has projected it through the eyes and mind and feelings of a doctor, Mitchell Wilner, his central character, who almost by accident becomes an actor in the drama and then, driven by a compulsion he cannot down to find out why and how it happened, is drawn deeper and deeper into a research he had not planned. Interspersed through the main story are fictional biographies of the victims.

"Citizens" is an absorbing book. One reads to the end of its 650 pages. Yet as a whole it has the interest and power of good reporting rather than of fiction. It tends to fall apart because the character of Dr. Wilner is not sufficiently well realized to weld it together. One feels that, consciously or not, the objective in inventing the character of Dr. Wilner was not so much to create a character as to educate the public; Dr. Wilner is Mr. Levin's pupil, and parts of his progress take on a primer-like quality. At times the writing goes soft after the fashion of so much didactic "left" writing of the past decade.

Aside from the mixture of motives underlying the conception of the central character, there is another flaw. Perhaps it is too much to demand that Dr. Wilner *should* find out why and how it happened, in the deeper sense; but the introduction of such a character inevitably introduces the demand, and the fact that Mr. Levin does not satisfy it, that Dr. Wilner's search is not resolved, weakens the book as fiction. One feels that Mr. Levin would have done a better job of educating the public if he had succeeded in creating a character. But he has written an excellent and very moving account of a tragic episode. It should be read, particularly by those "citizens" who assume that industrial warfare "in another county" does not concern them.

JULIEN BRYAN, who has photographed his way through many strange parts of the world, had neither the intention nor the desire to be in Warsaw during the siege that preceded its fall to the Nazis. He merely thought it would be a good idea to get a few background pictures in a country where war seemed certain to strike, but not quite yet. On the morning of September 3 he took a train out of Bucharest not aware that war had begun. The first bombing came fifteen minutes after the train had crossed the Polish border and continued at intervals during the four days it took to get to Warsaw. By that time, September 7, the diplomats had left the city. Mr. Bryan remained until September 21, when hostilities ceased for three hours to allow foreigners with passports from neutral countries to leave. He got his background pictures—of a background plowed by German bombs—and even managed, by a ruse, to get them safely back to America; but the most indelible print of all he carried back in his own mind, of human suffering, fear, and courage, of people going about their business in a city continuously under fire and doomed to fall.

The photographs which accompany the text of "Siege" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) are excellent; but it is a dismal commentary on the state of the "modern" mind that they would be more striking or tragic or horrifying if we had not seen them before—with Spanish or Chinese or Finnish instead of Polish women and children, the madonnas of our age, staring at us out of the ruins of homes and hospitals. Yet Mr. Bryan's close-up of a *Blitzkrieg* is striking enough even for the "jaded" observer. MARGARET MARSHALL

Why Hitler Succeeds

FAILURE OF A MISSION. By Sir Nevile Henderson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

SIR NEVILE HENDERSON was British ambassador to Berlin in the crucial years from 1937 to 1939. His report of the aims and outcome of his mission is neither a great literary nor a great human document. Nevertheless, it is a revealing and important book, not because it contains any startling new facts, but because it illuminates convincingly the minds of Sir Nevile Henderson and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, which are essentially the minds of the average Englishman or American. Some of the traits brought out in this book are definitely upper class, as in the naive dissertation on hunting, but on the whole we find here the dominant Anglo-Saxon attitude of the last two decades. It is this attitude which explains the success of Hitler. Sir Nevile Henderson deplores the failure of his mission, to which, we have no reason to doubt, he was sincerely devoted. He failed because he completely misunderstood the nature of the forces

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with which he had to cope. Even today he does not comprehend the fundamentals of fascism, or the strength of its antecedents in German history and thought. The genuine force of the revolution which fascism prides itself on being entirely escaped his anti-metaphysical, rational, liberal, nineteenth-century mind; therefore he blames the failure of his mission on the personally evil character of Hitler and von Ribbentrop and finds much kinder words for Mussolini and Göring. He attributes to Hitler, and he makes out a good case for his view, "lust for dominion, complete amorality, and inability to consider any or anybody's outlook except his own"; but he attributes to Hitler alone what is fundamental in the movement and is to be found in the very many millions, not only in Germany, who see in Hitler the most successful representative of a new attitude or philosophy supposedly ascendant in our day.

When Sir Nevile came to Germany in 1937 he was, like his chief, influenced by three sentiments: his sympathy for the German people, his conviction that wars do not settle anything, his belief that the Treaty of Versailles had wronged Germany and should be righted. These views, which were partly based on emotions, Sir Nevile shared with the majority of Anglo-Saxons. These opinions explained his policy of appeasement, behind which was the firm wish of the English and French peoples not to go to war unless their own territory was invaded. Sir Nevile had a great affection for the German people—without much understanding of their history or of their real situation and aspirations; he hated National Socialism for its crude anti-Semitism and primitive brutality, but he thought that it had good aspects too, and that as long as it confined itself to Germany and to Germans, the Western nations could not and should not oppose it. He did not understand that there are no good or bad aspects of fascism, but that fascism forms a whole, shaping the minds of men under its influence into an attitude fundamentally opposed to all principles of liberalism and of international cooperation, and therefore necessarily aggressive against democracy. He did not understand that fascism was a movement bent upon expansion, and that Hitler was interested in liberating the Austrians—from themselves—and the Sudeten Germans—from Masaryk's democracy—only because these steps furthered his relentless pursuit of world power. Seeing in fascism only a momentary aberration from the accepted liberal course of modern civilization, Sir Nevile had a deep suspicion of any ideological opposition to National Socialism, of any war for democracy, not understanding that fascism was fighting a ruthless war against democracy and that this war had entered its definitive stage as far back as 1936.

A few months before the outbreak of the war Mr. Chamberlain said: "War wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing." These historically untrue platitudes explain also Hitler's success. Even a war which wins nothing may defend something. Sir Nevile tells how he found Chancellor Hitler in his study before a very large globe which he has always before his eyes. Unfortunately the democratic statesmen and peoples keep no globe before their eyes. They still continue to see all events as isolated happenings, and thus make Hitler's successes possible. In a very naive way Sir Nevile remarks that Munich was unavoidable because, in spite of the strength of the Czechs' Maginot line, their southern flank was exposed to German attack. But he forgot that this was only the result of the occupation of Austria, which had occurred six months before. In March, 1938, Sir Nevile regarded the annexation of Austria as the righting of an alleged Versailles wrong, not as the necessary preparation for the domination of the whole of Central and Southeastern Europe, an ambition which Bismarck's Germany could not realize because Vienna was then independent of Berlin. But the blindness was not confined to Anglo-Saxon liberals; it was shared by many other people who were neither Anglo-Saxon nor liberals, for example, Colonel Beck, who helped Hitler in all his plans against Austria and Czechoslovakia and thus prepared the annihilation of Poland. It was the intellectual and moral confusion of all the statesmen and peoples whom fascism has foreseen as its future victims which made Hitler's astonishing successes possible and threatened to transform the retreat of democracy into a rout.

There are many passages in the book which will almost drive the reader to despair. Sir Nevile accepts, as many people in England did, all the most blatant pieces of propaganda put out by Hitler in 1933—that it was the Treaty of Versailles which had created him and that he had brought order out of the chaos and distress which followed Germany's defeat in 1919. As if life in Germany under the Weimar Republic from 1924 on had not been orderly, and in the fields of culture and justice, of administration and social legislation infinitely more civilized and promising than it became under Hitler. Sir Nevile says rightly that the militarization of the Rhineland in 1936 offered the democracies the last opportunity to say no without being obliged to go to war to enforce that no; but only a few pages before he says that, whatever attitude the British might have adopted toward Hitler, the result today would be the same. Again and again we find expressions which show that Sir Nevile could grasp reality, as when he says that "the Nazi Party was Germany; it was merely wishful thinking to imagine anything to the contrary"; but then again he fills whole pages with wishful thinking. His mind is entirely concentrated on Germany and England; it is curiously blank as regards France and bitterly prejudiced against the Soviet Union and in favor of Italy. He wonders why Hitler did not stop, at least for several years, after his success at Munich, and so insure peace and welfare for the German people. That would have been "common sense." But fascism despises common sense, peaceful progress, and economic welfare. Henderson and the democratic public in general try to measure the fascists with the yardsticks of liberal rationalism, striving for security and economic well-being. But the fascists live in a world of different values, where words have a different meaning. Henderson tells one characteristic anecdote about the negotiations at Munich. When Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the Godesberg memorandum was a sheer dictate—the word always applied by Hitler to the Treaty of Versailles—imposed on a country voluntarily surrendering part of its territory without previous defeat, the Chancellor replied: "It is not a dictate; look, the document is headed by the word 'memorandum.'"

Although the book throws little new light on recent Anglo-German relations, it presents clearly mind-processes

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which are in no way confined to England, to the English Prime Minister, or to his ambassador, and which explain Hitler's successes. In that respect the book is not only an important document of the times, but also a warning to the many democrats who still continue to indulge in wishful thinking about the nature of fascism and the scope of the threat which its success implies. —HANS KOHN

Pitt—Champion of Liberty

MR. PITT AND AMERICA'S BIRTHRIGHT. By J. C. Long. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $3.50.

IN THAT resplendent galaxy of representative figures—Swift and Defoe, Pope and Dr. Johnson, Hogarth and Chesterfield, Rodney and Clive—whom Bonamy Dobrée collected in his anthology of the eighteenth century there was scarcely a more lustrous personality than the elder Pitt, the Earl of Chatham. Mr. Long needed no excuse for adding this elaborate, scholarly, and yet delightfully diverting volume to the biographies by Lord Macaulay, Lord Rosebery, and others. The one he does offer—that "prior biographers . . . have seemingly underestimated" the significance of Pitt's activities and speeches—is hardly borne out by what Macaulay wrote of the Earl of Chatham: "He was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe; he was the first Englishman of his time; and he had made England the first country in the world." No one has penetrated more deeply into Pitt's life and work than Mr. Long, whose research has unearthed many hitherto unknown facts, but his "biography" is much more than his hero's life story. It is the history of a traduced and maligned epoch, a true description of social life in the eighteenth century, a serious discussion of the efforts to develop an "almost degenerated England" into a vast "empire of freemen."

It was an unnecessarily broad hint to caption some chapters of this admirable book The Cliveden Set—Cliveden at that time being the seat of a Whig opposition gathered round Prince Frederick—or Troubles at 10 Downing Street, or Paris-Madrid Axis, for the parallelism is obvious enough even without these allusions.

In spite of his interest in the smallest details of Chatham's life, Mr. Long emphasizes the dynamic drama of his career, from the parliamentary battle in the Commons between Pitt and William Murray, who having won the Latin competition at Oxford thought himself a superior person, to the historic scene where the hero of the drama, having made his last speech in defense of America, collapsed in the House of Lords. Emerging from this apparent theatricalism, the central fact of Pitt's career never grows dim in Mr. Long's fascinating narrative. All his life he fought for the freedom of men in a free country, being perhaps unconsciously aware that only by preserving constitutional liberties could the aristocracy preserve its political power. Statesmen in our day who are anxious to uphold the imperiled political power of capitalism apparently do not follow Pitt's example.

In Mr. Long's view the Earl of Chatham was "a man of rare force and judgment" who although vain and ambitious could "submerge his claims in the interest of a united coun-

HARPER

NATIVE SON

By RICHARD WRIGHT

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try." One of his English biographers, Professor Williams, calls him "our greatest orator and our greatest war minister, but never perhaps so great as when in the evening of his days, he failed by his exertions to save America for England." Not only did this most dazzling of British statesmen defend English liberties against Bourbonism abroad, the refined Hitlerism of a more cultured century, and against attacks at home, as in the Wilkes case, but by conquering Canada and securing the mastery of India in the *annus mirabilis* 1759 he laid the foundation of a British Empire which in his inspired vision was to develop into a voluntary union of self-governing nations. The Earl of Chatham was the first to call America a "nation"; in his brilliant defense of Americans he insisted that England "had no right under heaven to tax America"; and by saying, "I rejoice that America has resisted," he stood firm for liberty and independence as "America's birthright."

In 1766 South Carolina erected "in grateful memory" a statue of William Pitt at Charleston. Fourteen years later a shell from George III's artillery broke off the right arm of the statue—"incredible irony of history" symbolizing perhaps the king's dislike of his late minister. Not even a malevolent criticism could maim the monument Mr. Long has erected to the memory of William Pitt.

The real hero of his book, however, is not William Pitt but the birthright of America as represented in the traditional unity of Anglo-Saxon liberty in the struggle against the tyranny both of the dictator and of the mob. Just now, when some unscrupulous business men and shortsighted politicians are doing their utmost to drive a wedge between the two representatives of this Anglo-Saxon unity, when the misconception of capitalist interests threatens to overshadow human interests, this timely recognition of the English origins of American liberty deserves not only due appreciation but the interest of all intelligent readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Leonardo

LEONARDO DA VINCI: AN ACCOUNT OF HIS DEVELOPMENT AS AN ARTIST. By Kenneth Clark. The Macmillan Company. $5.

THERE are many definitions of genius, all of them doubtless unsatisfactory, but the one that best suits the working purposes of unendowed humanity is simple. A genius is a man who never does enough. A talent, a temperament, a minor light, or a mediocrity—a Correggio, a Berlioz, a Congreve, or a Liszt—is safe in his degree. Mankind accepts him as a definer of its limits and a flatterer of its incompetence. He fixes comfortable boundaries to our practical intelligence and never lifts us to a height too perilous for the average temerities of spirit or imagination. He fits into the scheme of existence and enhances its bleakness or defeats. But with geniuses of incontestable rank no simple gratitude is possible. They leave the normal dimensions and incapacities of humanity behind and stand against their own vision of divinity. Every defect, frustration, and evasion is mercilessly exposed. Their glimpse of truth imparts the fear of an exposure, it dismisses pretexts and excuses, and it brings us to the edge of the abyss. Enemies of half-truth and imposture, they tell us that finally the ways of salvation are not many but one. And because they offer a single and ruthless form of truth, our only revenge is to resent them as pretenders to godhead and to humiliate them as men. It is the Beethovens, Dantes, and Leonardos who incite critics and romanticists to their boldest liberties. Every generation scolds, remodels, or scales them down to its own convenience. The works they wrung from labor and agony become the stalking-horses of any random journalist or undergraduate whose mythology of values they have disturbed. Like all custodians of truth they must pay for the honor a price never exacted of the limited talent who stays within the recognized sanctions of human comfort and compromise and so halts safely this side the chilly summits of revelation.

Leonardo is preeminently an example of their fate. He has been subjected to almost every protest and deflation of which science or criticism is capable. Where reverence of his art is effusive it is suspected of perversity. Engineers who find his machines fantastic, critics who find his designs artificial or his vision synthetic, and psychologists who find his nature abnormal have substantiated this perversity in the fitful, impractical, and sinister tendencies of his genius. His venerators have done him the disservice of romanticizing his career and temperament beyond the ordinary license permitted by a meagerness of facts and documents. Vasari and Peter, excited by legend and unaware of the exact canon of his works, gave him the mystic proportions of a seer, and Merejkowski, Rachel Taylor, and Antonina Vallentin have converted his history into swollen romances of Renaissance culture. In our age of unrivaled reason and hard-headed sense he is the favorite butt of deflaters of aestheticism. His notebooks have been dissected by Aristotelians, his symbols and images indexed by Freudians, his machines dismissed by experts in ballistics and hydrodynamics, and his military and ecclesiastical projects derided by humanitarians. The one feature of Leonardo that remains untouched—yet still clumsily misinterpreted to the lay mind—is the supreme and invulnerable one: the vision whereby he brought intellect to meet with instinct, form with intuition, and reality with mystery at the subtlest possible point, and so brought fully into art, in their total complex, the radical traits of the Western mind and "the central problem of creation."

Sir Kenneth Clark has written the book exactly needed—following the researches of the Richters, MacCurdy, and Berenson and the consequent decline of Pater's influence—to rescue the magnitude of Leonardo's achievement from the clouds of poetic interpretation and technical analysis; and he has written it so candidly, with so fine a balance of grace and scholarship, that it surmounts its fragmentary character as a book of lectures and becomes a lesson for critics of art. His knowledge of the pictures and drawings is expert; his sense of Leonardo's human qualities and deviations is delicate; his insight into the formal and symbolic inventions, as into the subtleties of the "Trattato," is sharp; and he writes with a firmness of suggestion and definition that makes him the best English art critic since Roger Fry. He is good in defining "the tradition of linear grace and fancy, the tradition of Lorenzo Monaco, Fra Filippo, and Botticelli," to which by his un-Greek nature Leonardo belonged, as against the

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tradition of scientific naturalism of Masaccio and Verrocchio toward which by training and intellect he tended. He is as reasonable in proposing the analogy of Picasso's restless experimentalism as in suggesting that Leonardo's "constitutional dilatoriness" was redeemed from paralysis of will by an unflagging seminal faculty comparable to the disordered intellect of Coleridge. He knows how, in supreme moments, Leonardo's aesthetic, literary, and scientific impulses were resolved through a command of "abstract harmonies and structural subordinations" that make his greatest pictures as "inexhaustible" as a masterpiece by Bach. He corrects Valéry's idealistic view of the "symmetric instinct" by showing Leonardo caught in the transition from the logical system of scholasticism to the experimental realism, not yet resolved into a faith in natural law, of the Renaissance. He is prudent enough to recognize Freud's essay as—in the absence of all but the sparsest evidence—necessarily speculative, but sensible enough to reprove "those who wish, in the interests of morality, to reduce Leonardo, that inexhaustible source of creative power, to a neutral and sexless agency." Tracing the secret of temperament in the coloristic qualities and epicene forms of the pictures themselves, he knows the mixed appeals that have won dubious apologies for Leonardo's motives, but he also knows that Pater happened to strike in at least three phrases of his "marvelous cadenza" on the Mona Lisa the salient elements in his genius. He is accurate in defining Leonardo's temperamental defects: his hostility to classicism and disdain of the *arte meccanicissima* of sculpture (an aversion largely to Michelangelo), his failure in the synthetic faculty, his weakness in normal sensuality, the disorder of his contributions to iconography and plastic vocabulary, his misleading influence on Luini and Sodoma, the mixed elements of "The Last Supper," and his curiously regressive belief that "one cannot have beauty and utility together, as may be seen in men and fortresses."

There is, however, no effect of reducing Leonardo's prodigious resources to the level of common sense or mechanical analysis. Clark can quote so judiciously from the "Trattato" that a random passage has the effect of revealing the force and insight of the whole. And, to speak of only one of his attributions, he is so acute in perceiving the Leonardesque quality of the Cecilia Gallerani at Cracow—especially the Leda-like twist of the ermine, "its stoatish character, sleek, predatory, alert, yet with a kind of heraldic dignity" that gives "in epigrammatic form the motive of the whole composition"—that he makes this portrait indispensable to one's grasp of Leonardo's power and its animal one of the miracles of painting. He brings Leonardo within reasonable comprehension without for a moment simplifying his greatness, and thus succeeds in clarifying the range of his resources and insight, the "obsessive interest" in waves, rocks, clouds, and sinews by which he extended the language of paint, and his reach into the depths of the human mind by which the rocky landscape of the Virgin or the Mona Lisa becomes one of the immortal images of spiritual divination. Clark has written, in short, one of the most distinguished of recent aesthetic studies in any field. Its value lies not only in what it does to rationalize the place in history of a man who is "a standing refutation of the comfortable belief that all great men are simple," but in what it does to make that man credible as

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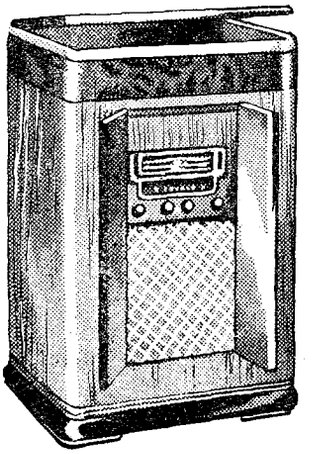

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MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Wagon Trail

DON'T YOU CRY FOR ME. By John Weld. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

AFTER reading this novelized account of the Donner wagon train's grueling trek to California in 1846, it should be several days before anyone has the gall to complain because the sink is not draining or the chicken is tough or the cigarettes are all smoked. Luckily for the author, the sufferings these early emigrants endured are a matter of record; otherwise many a reader would shake his head unbelievingly, thinking, "I couldn't bear even half so much, and no one else could either." How much hunger, cold, sickness, pain, frustration can a human being stand? The answer, for these continent-crossers and probably for everyone, is: far more than you could possibly imagine.

Out of Independence, Missouri, they rolled in the early summer, nearly a hundred brand-new wagons loaded with the supplies prescribed by the "Emigrant's Guide," but most of them carrying many unnecessary belongings in flagrant disregard of that manual's warning against excess pounds. Winding across the prairies, they sang, "It rained all night the day I left; the weather it was dry . . ."; to Laramie—"The sun so hot I froze to death . . ."; and over the first mountain ranges—"Oh, Susanna, don't you cry for me, I'm off to California with a banjo on my knee." But already oxen were weakening, wagons breaking down; beds, chests, stoves, clocks strewed the trail as drivers learned that excess weight really did take its toll; an occasional wooden cross marked the end of the trek for a worn-out wife or for a hot-tempered emigrant shot in a quarrel. Then the salt flats and the desert, with supplies dwindling, water too precious to be priced in terms of gold, treacherous Indians picking off the livestock from ambush. Real privations, more dissension within the party itself, a sharpening of the will to self-preservation. Then mountains again, early winter, and snow. Faced with the absolute impossibility of taking wagons through the drifts, the remainder of the caravan abandoned their canvas-topped homes, moved forward on foot, were soon trapped among the hills. Apparently doomed, they lived on like animals, feeding on remnants of ox-hide, sinking daily to lower and lower bestial levels, yet refusing to give up and die. Finally fifteen of the least emaciated set out on improvised snowshoes to seek help from Sutter's fort perhaps a hundred miles away. A few of them got through, but only by eating the carcasses of their companions who succumbed on the way.

Mr. Weld's book opens slowly, lumberingly, like the wagon train he describes, but once under way it brings one searingly close to the grim reality of those racking months, to the inexplicable urge that drives men across deserts, swollen rivers, snow-locked mountains—and keeps them going long after they should by all rights have dropped dead in their tracks.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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IN BRIEF

THEIR OWN COUNTRY. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.50.

Stephen and Hester Chase, central figures in "Oil for the Lamps of China," return to America in the late 1920's. Stephen, having been forced to resign from the oil company, finds a growing sense of insecurity permeating the business structure of his homeland, from truck-driver to executive, each rank specializing in its own brand of chiseling to safeguard jobs or power. After a few skirmishes with New York firms, he takes over the management of an industrial-alcohol plant in a small Kansas city, sees it through depression, sabotage, crooked competition. Interesting, but not so engrossing as Stephen's and Hester's adventures in China.

A STRICKEN FIELD. By Martha Gellhorn. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.

Miss Gellhorn tells a story of Prague between the seizure of the Sudetenland and the final absorption of the unfortunate Czechs by Germany. Herself a newspaper correspondent of wide experience, she reveals the plight of the Sudeten refugees and the disillusioned Czechs largely as it appears to a woman journalist, Mary Douglas, who has not yet grown calloused to injustice and suffering even after watching the civil war in Spain. Persecution, violence, bestial cruelty, abject fear—these are the threads of a pattern which has already appeared in at least a dozen novels of present-day Europe, and for which ultimate credit must go to the Nazis, inexhaustible purveyors of horror-story plots. Sickening enough against a background of Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, the atrocity pattern irritates an even more sensitive nerve when Czechoslovakia becomes the victim in the trap, because at every turn, subtly but inexorably, one is reminded that the democracies (1) delivered up the Czechs to the butchers, and (2) took only half- or quarter-hearted measures to rescue the poor wretches for whom, because of their racial origin or liberal views, failure to escape meant torture and death.

DE QUINCEY: A PORTRAIT. By John Calvin Metcalf. Harvard University Press. $2.

This extremely direct and charming view of a man of letters who was a genius as well as a victim of opium is the product of intimate knowledge of sources, written and unwritten, and a fine example of the art which conceals scholarship. The style is polished, sympathetic, and delicately humorous—admirably suited to the subject.

FILMS

"LIGHTS OUT IN EUROPE" (a Look-Ampix living-history feature) by the American Herbert Kline and the Czech Alexander Hackenschmied, who gave us "Crisis" last year, was filmed in England, Poland, Danzig, and on the western front from May to December, 1939. It is easily the most dramatic, most eloquent, and most revealing picture yet made about contemporary events, even surpassing "Crisis" in many respects. No reels could be taken in Germany proper and none of the Russian invasion of Poland. Nevertheless, the German side of the front is made perfectly clear by the sequence which pictures the war preparations of the Nazis in Danzig and the bombing of Polish refugee trains by German planes—shots of unforgettable horror.

The picture begins in London in the days after Hitler's march into Prague. The slow realization of the Chamberlain government that there will be no peace in our time as long as the Hitler regime exists expresses itself in a hundred measures which change the atmosphere and the aspect of the streets of London. Alexander Hackenschmied photographed these changes not merely with technical skill and an unfailing sense of pictorial values but with an astounding recognition of the essential, telling details. His work has the same relation to the general run of newsreels that the inside stories of really informed correspondents have to mere news dispatches. We have all seen newsreels showing the introduction of compulsory military service in England, or the building of flimsy air-raid shelters in backyards, or the speed-up in airplane factories, but here these events are seen and reported by somebody who knows what they mean and who shows their relation to the great drama of which they are a part.

From England the film switches to Danzig and Poland, reporting the preparations for war on both sides. And then war comes, swiftly and undeclared. Its horror leaps from the screen, and it will strike you almost as it did the poor Polish peasants who found themselves suddenly among ruins staring at the cadavers of their burned livestock. Back in London and on the western front we see England in the first weeks of war. Most impressive is a farewell performance for soldiers going to the front at which they sing, "We'll Hang the Washing on the Siegfried Line." They sing the song, but one can see on their faces that they know it will not be so easy as that.

James Hilton has written a commentary for the picture, which is spoken by Fredric March. It is adequate when it consists of straight explanation and hopelessly confused when more is attempted. The opening statement that the picture is designed to show the futility of war is nonsense. As if Hitler would leave anybody the choice of fighting him with spiritual weapons. Equally empty is the statement at the end-title that there has never been an attempt at "a peace to end war." And there is in the picture itself a corresponding contradiction. It begins quite naturally as a militant anti-Nazi film, but suddenly vague pacifist overtones are accentuated; the graves of the soldiers of the war of 1914-18 are shown again and again. The reason for such forced inconsistency is not difficult to detect. It lies obviously in the Soviet-German pact. Its effect on the people of England and France is, significantly, not shown, but its effect on the producers of the film is clear. They became, to say the least, confused and began to censor reality. Starting out in May, 1939, to fight fascism, they found themselves suddenly in August propagandists for an "imperialistic war"—this is the impression given by the omissions and the accents in the second half of the picture. Fortunately their material remains more impressive than their confusion.

"Rebecca" (Selznick), though produced at great expense, is unconvincing and in the middle part even boring in spite of Hitchcock's direction and such excellent actors as Laurence Olivier, Joan Fontaine, and Judith Anderson.

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"Young Tom Edison" (M.G.M.) is a pleasant though sweetened biographical picture in which Mickey Rooney gets a chance to show his talents in a legitimate part.

The Hays office informs me that Mr. Hays never made the remark—attributed to him in this and other columns—that better pictures are produced today not because the producers have become more mature but because the movie writers are better versed in their profession. So far as this denial implies that Mr. Hays would not want to subscribe to such an attempt to shift responsibility I am satisfied.

FRANZ HOELLERING

DRAMA

NO OTHER performer on the American stage can act worried quite so elaborately or so convincingly as Miss Pauline Lord. "Suspect" (The Playhouse) gives her several opportunities to do just that, and she takes advantage of them with all her accustomed virtuosity. Unfortunately, however, there are a good many other moments in a mechanically constructed play which moves clumsily and creaks as it goes. Written by the same Edward Percy and Reginald Denham responsible for "Ladies in Retirement," "Suspect" also is an attempt to give the audience a genteel attack of the horrors; but its methods are even more obvious, and it is far too slow in getting to the point. Miss Lord is a retired ax-murderess now living in quiet seclusion, surrounded by provincial curates and cricket-playing baronets. Naturally they get quite a turn when they find out who she really is. And it's a jolly good thing that they don't see what the audience sees just before the curtain goes down.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

IF I had to choose between Columbia's new set of Mozart's Symphony K. 385 ("Haffner"), made by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (M-399, $4.50), and the ten-year-old set made by Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic, I would find choice difficult. Beecham's style in Mozart is superb, and this performance is one of his best; it is recorded with the fidelity, the spaciousness, the lifelike sharpness of outline that one does not hear in the recording of ten years ago; the new version costs less than the old; and all these facts will make the decision easy for some people. But the qualities of attack, of contour, of texture that are distinctive in a Toscanini performance are reproduced to an astonishing degree by the older recording; they contribute to a performance of the last movement that is breath-takingly lighter and swifter than Beecham's; and these things would, in the end, make choice impossible for me: I would have to have both versions. And that, I dare say, is what others will decide, if they can afford it.

But in the case of Columbia's new set of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony, made by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (M-401, $10), and the older set made by Toscanini with the B. B. C. Symphony, there is no such difficulty. In the performance of the symphony, as in the March performance of the "Coriolanus" Overture, one is aware of Mitropoulos's talent as a conductor; but this time one is also aware of his defects as a musician. The forceful personality which gives the conductor power over the minds and wills and bodies of his players expresses itself also in the musician's inclination to extremes in dynamics—to excessively violent crescendos and decrescendos within a single measure, to explosive *fp's* on a single beat—an inclination unguided or unrestrained by the sense for plastic proportions that one hears in the phrasing of a Toscanini or a Beecham, or by their sense of fitness—which is to say their taste, their feeling for the character and style of the music in hand. To listen to Toscanini's genial, relaxed performance of the first movement of the "Pastoral" and then to Mitropoulos's hectic performance is to listen to someone who has this feeling for the music and to someone who has not—who has a feeling only for sensational effects in dynamics. The one point of superiority of the Mitropoulos version is its present-day recording; but Toscanini recorded his performance only two or three years ago.

Stock's performance of Weber's Overture to "Euryanthe" with the Chicago Symphony (11179, $2) is very fine; but I recall liking Boult's with the B. B. C. Symphony. Where the new version is superior is in its brilliant recording. Haydn's Quartet Opus 76, No. 5 is not one of his best; but even the qualities it has are not given effect by the insensitive playing of the reorganized Roth Quartet and the almost unendurably harsh recording (M-400, $5). On the other hand good recording is the only virtue of the Kilenyi set of Schumann's superb Symphonic Etudes for piano (X-162, $3.50), and its only point of superiority over previous inadequate versions. As for the Album of Shakespearean Song (M-402, $5), some of the songs—mostly by Thomas Arne—are quite charming, but Mordecai Bauman sings them with a powerful voice that seems incapable of any subtlety of coloring and inflection.

Among several miscellaneous items, Decca's second Album of Harpsichord Music played by Alice Ehlers (Set 62, $2.75) offers dance movements by Purcell, Bach, Couperin, Rameau, and others, which could not be pounded out with less grace by Yella Pessl herself. Then, some readers may be interested in the Columbia "Add-a-Part" recordings of large chamber works and shorter pieces. In these the work is played without the first violin part or 'cello part or piano part, so that a violinist or 'cellist or pianist can have the practice or the pleasure of playing the omitted part in a performance of the work. The records come with a specially contrived complete score, and at the beginning of each movement the correct pitch and tempo are given. I have had no opportunity to try the records myself. And finally I should mention the set of records of the Belgian Congo music heard in the film "Dark Rapture," issued by General Records, 1600 Broadway, New York.

Among recent jazz records there has been nothing to get excited about; but the best, and fairly enjoyable, have been the Crosby Bobcats' "Do You Ever Think of Me," with Stacy at the piano (Decca 3040), and the Bob Zurke "Tom-Cat on the Keys" (Victor 26526). Louis Armstrong has done some good trumpet-playing, up to an exhibitionistic finale, in his "Bye and Bye" (Decca 3011); Art Hodes's "Ross Tavern Boogie" (Solo Art R-2197) is one of the more interesting products of that type of piano-playing, and on the reverse side "South Side Shuffle," which departs from the type, is even better; in "The Blues" Jack Teagarden does some fine playing on trombone against an utterly incongruous gilt-and-plush large-band background (Varsity 8218). Ida Cox shows an excellent sense for pace in phrasing, but every bit of color is gone from the voice; and her singing is too much for me to take with the fine playing of the supporting band. Nor do I enjoy the various Jelly Roll Morton records issued by General Records.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Vigilantes and Pioneers

Dear Sirs: After years of violence and red-baiting culminating in the Laura Law murder and the complete breakdown of law enforcement, the wage-earners and small business men of the Northwest, long harassed by vigilantes and so-called citizens' committees, are hoping that the federal government will step in and clean up the whole rotten mess.

Meanwhile, they are taking steps to defend themselves. Signals and codes are being adopted so that if one family is attacked by vigilantes the rest can go to the rescue. Sounds like the old West! The Aberdeen murder was no flash in the pan; its repercussions have been felt up and down the Pacific Coast. Children bring the fears and prejudices of their parents into the schools, and childish cries of "Pink," "Red," "Vigilante," and "Scab" are the cause of schoolroom scuffles. Townspeople look askance at strangers. Men on the job do not trust one another, and important union meetings have been driven underground.

Fraternal and religious groups are knee deep in red-baiting. Workingmen have been fined for refusing to contribute to the Finnish relief fund. Newsstand dealers have been told by police red-squad officers to keep magazines like *The Nation* and the *New Republic* out of sight. One large chain store employs only practicing Mormons, and it is almost impossible for a young person to find work unless he is a member of the National Guard.

If the Aberdeen assassination remains "unsolved," the bloodthirsty vigilantes will feel that they can run little fascist kingdoms of their own, with their own deputized storm troopers, and the so-called citizens' committees will not rest until they force the humble workers to their knees and break up all unions. Already the humble citizens in increasing numbers are taking out "hunting licenses," for the blood of pioneers flows in the veins of these people and if it comes to a showdown the enemy will be met with courage. Let us hope the federal government steps in before this point is reached.

If you publish this letter do not print my name, for it will be noted by the red squad, I'll get a telephone call calling me a rat, perhaps a postcard from the K. K. K., the Better Business League will see that I lose my job, and I'll find myself on the black list of the Chamber of Commerce when I seek another job. Simple, isn't it?

You see *The Nation* is read with painstaking care by its foes.

Portland, Ore., April 12 M. R.

The Man Who Beat Hoan

Dear Sirs: On April 3, 1940, the world awoke to find that Daniel Webster Hoan was no longer mayor of the Beer City, the City of Homes, the City that Prospered in Spite of a Red Mayor. Hoan had been Mayor of Milwaukee for twenty-four successive years and had given Milwaukee the reputation of being the best-governed city in America: he had practically freed the city government of graft, sponsored the amortization-fund plan that will make Milwaukee debt free in 1943, fought for civil service, fought sales-tax proposals, fought for public ownership—fought, fought, and fought until he was sixty years old and tired.

Year after year candidates had been groomed to beat Hoan, but none succeeded until this spring. Carl Frederick Zeidler was victorious over Hoan on April 2 by 12,000 votes—and 12,000 voters can't be wrong, can they?

Zeidler has been described in Milwaukee papers as "young, tall, blond, handsome, athletic, with a resonant baritone voice." And, according to the papers after the election, "he launched a campaign the like of which Hoan has never faced before." He sang at public meetings, he kissed a lady at a style show, he shook hands all around, he organized young peoples' clubs. As far as his Y. M. C. A. and church background permitted, he was a regular card.

This type of campaign caught the Socialist-Progressive group in Milwaukee napping. Perhaps they forgot that the prolonged depression, totalitarian-state methods of propaganda, and Socialist complacency had created a psychological condition they were not able to meet. At post-mortem sessions they admit that Zeidler pushed Mayor Hoan out of the City Hall because they, the Hoan supporters, were content to sit in office without keeping their political fences mended. They failed to encourage young members of their organization, failed to check the enemy before he became a menace.

Zeidler studiously avoided getting involved in discussions about unionism, unemployment, relief, or taxation, and wound up his campaign with a resonant roar that he would "clean out the City Hall and oust the Socialists."

That threat probably did it—in a city that has not had a majority of Socialists in the City Council for, lo, these many years. ARTHUR P. WIESNER

Milwaukee, April 9

Help China's Cooperatives

Dear Sirs: Dr. Eric Landauer, who is in charge of the Southeastern Laboratory of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, has sent me an appeal which I hope will interest *Nation* readers. I quote excerpts from it below:

Mme Sun Yat-sen has stated the aims of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives in the following words: "Japan seeks . . . to destroy our modern industries in order to make our people agrarian slaves. It already has smashed and seized 75 per cent of our machine industry and left more than a million workers jobless. Our people and our government are determined to rebuild productive power even during war time by erecting thousands of small factories throughout the hinterland, even on the flanks of the Japanese-held railways. In order to mobilize the widest participation of the people, these factories are being developed in the form of cooperatives."

Although scarcely more than a year old, the C. I. C. have already established more than 1,500 individual shops. It is planned to set up 10,000 cooperatives in the second year, and 20,000 in the third. The organization operates from five bases placed at strategic points. Each base will have one central laboratory to help any cooperative in the region requiring technical assistance. Specifically, the purpose of the laboratories is (1) to improve the manufacturing methods of the existing cooperatives, (2) to assay raw materials for them and standardize finished products, (3) to make surveys of locally available raw materials and to develop processing or refining methods, (4) to work out manufacturing methods for urgently needed drugs that cannot be imported any longer in sufficient quantities, (5) to train field assistants and technical inspectors for all co-ops in the area.

One such laboratory has been established in the Northwest. A second one is now being set up in the Southeast; its head, the author of the present appeal, is a chemist

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formerly on the League of Nations Epidemic Commission to China. He and his staff have offered their services free to the C. I. C. and are paid only a small living allowance. The laboratory is being supported entirely by contributions from foreign friends of China. Funds received so far have enabled us to make a start by using improvised and very primitive methods and equipment.

The writer has a list of those things which are wanted most urgently and invites correspondence from all persons who may have equipment, new or used, which might be useful and which they are willing to contribute. In addition, cash contributions are solicited, both for the purchase of equipment which cannot be obtained as a gift and for defraying shipping expenses to China.

I shall be glad to forward any contributions which *Nation* readers may wish to make in response to this appeal.

WALTER LANDAUER
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Conn., April 10

ROTC at California

Dear Sirs: Mr. Villard's article (*The Nation,* March 23) concerning a Report on Compulsory Military Training issued by the Associated Students of the University of California was greatly appreciated by those of us who have fought so long to make military training voluntary at the University of California. On March 8 the regents decided by a vote of fourteen to two to maintain ROTC on a compulsory basis. The two regents who voted against it were Governor Olson and Lieutenant Governor Patterson.

This was the sixth time in ten years that the regents have refused to grant the student petition for the abolition of compulsory ROTC. And they rejected it in the face of the largest student plebiscite ever held. With 4,000 students voting, the vote was three to one in favor of voluntary military training.

It is difficult in the face of so many defeats to maintain a militant student opposition to compulsory ROTC. Yet a regent "who preferred to speak off the record" stated after the decision of the board that "we are closer to the abolition of compulsory military training than we have ever been in the past, and it was the existence of a national emergency that bore the greatest weight in the regents' decision." This is the first time that the regents have been forced back to what seems to me to be the "last-ditch stand" of a "national emergency."

MORRIS D. GLICKFELD, Chairman,
A. S. U. C., Peace Committee
Berkeley, Cal., April 8

And at Harvard

Dear Sirs: When I showed Mr. Villard's brief article on the ROTC in your March 23 issue to my military-science instructor, the first thing he did was to call Mr. Villard "just a publicity-seeker." Then he vigorously upheld his own ability to instruct in citizenship as well as military tactics, said that "any form of work is good physical training," and tried to show that the two-year basic course, which takes up three hours of classroom time a week as well as ten three-hour drill periods a year, does not interfere with regular college work.

However, I can furnish a few facts to substantiate some of Mr. Villard's assertions: Our training in actual military practice consists of work with the outmoded 1897 model of the French 75-millimeter gun, whereas the model of that gun now in army use has modifications which make both our practical field work and our data largely inapplicable. Also, though the truck-drawn gun battery has almost completely replaced the older types, we continue to work with horses. Conditions are as unlike combat service as they can possibly be. The guns are in orderly array at the gun park, and we sight at a church steeple across the river and toy for an hour each drill period with old-style, dummy projectiles.

In class we figure out the mathematical data for the old-style guns, and learn certain fundamentals of military discipline, first aid, and military organization. A large amount of time is devoted to propaganda for the "American way." At the beginning of most periods the instructor reads us clippings which may be (1) an article from "a Washington newspaper," condemning Harold Rugg's social-science textbook series for "breeding a generation of future reds and pinks in our public elementary schools"; (2) an article describing an encounter between Socialist strikers and constabulary on a sugar plantation in Manila—"When the employer is good enough to furnish some food and a hut and some clothes for the poor workers, they ought to be happy, but then these Socialist agitators come in and try to make them feel discontented"; (3) an article about the Endicott-Johnson workers, who voted for a small independent union rather than the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O.; (4) most touching of all, a little item complaining that state and federal taxes ate up most of the $200,000 bonus given recently to Mr. Gifford of the A. T. and T.

If this is military training in our "stronghold of academic freedom," what can it be like in schools where it is compulsory? A. P. R.
Cambridge, Mass., April 12

"Wagner Act for Employers"

Dear Sirs: I have just read in the March 23 issue of *The Nation* what I consider to be the keenest analysis of the efforts to amend the Wagner Labor Act that I have seen anywhere. It is the article A 'Wagner Act' for Employers, by Arthur A. Michael.

I am so impressed with the piece that I am asking for permission to reproduce it in a forthcoming issue of *Steel Labor,* the official publication of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

VIN D. SWEENEY,
Publicity Director, S. W. O. C.
Pittsburgh, April 9

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